

**THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR: PATRIOTISM
DESPITE RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION**

by

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of
The University of Utah
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of History

The University of Utah

December 2008

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a comparative case study of two distinct units consisting of American soldiers who fought in religiously designated units, but on opposite sides during the Mexican-American War: the Mormon Battalion and the San Patricio Battalion. Both units are unique to American history. Yet despite their uniqueness, there are a surprising number of similarities between them. From their history of persecution, predating the war, to the common suffering and experiences all the soldiers endured, their similar circumstances continued (along with noted differences) until each U.S. soldier made the fateful decision of either remaining loyal or defecting to the enemy. This, however, was not the end to their similarities. Both units had government leaders assigned to command them; following the war, they received poor receptions from the people they defended; and the soldiers of both units are now revered as ethnic heroes.

This study is taken from an American perspective of the war and focuses on Mormon Battalion soldiers' trend toward national allegiance to the United States of America from 1846 to 1847. Although this conflict occurred over 160 years ago, a comparative case study can still teach Americans some important lessons. Governments must demonstrate tolerance and respect for peoples' ethnicity and religious faiths to ensure conflicts do not appear as cultural or "holy" wars. Religious influences, soldier

solidarity, and individual upbringings are important, but good, fair leadership, provided by competent officers, is the best motivator that can inspire national allegiance.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iv
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. SAN PATRICIO BATTALION.....	11
Enlistment.....	17
Harsh and Unjust Treatment from Officers.....	19
Religious Persecution.....	24
Ethnicity.....	27
Poor Living Conditions, Hard Military Work Conditions, Drunkenness, Seduction, and Impressment.....	29
Poor Treatment for the Sick and Wounded.....	31
Lack of Food and Water.....	33
Inconsistency with Monthly Pay and Enticements from the Mexican Government.....	34
Infringement of Contract, Abandonment, and Dissatisfaction.....	36
Summary.....	38
3. MORMON BATTALION.....	41
Enlistment.....	45
Harsh and Unjust Treatment from Officers.....	48
Religious Persecution.....	55
Ethnicity.....	60
Poor Living Conditions, Hard Military Work Conditions, Drunkenness, Seduction, and Impressment.....	66
Poor Treatment for the Sick and Wounded.....	70
Lack of Food and Water.....	73
Inconsistency with Monthly Pay and Enticements from the Mexican Government.....	77
Infringement of Contract, Abandonment, and Dissatisfaction.....	79
Summary.....	82

4. CONCLUSION.....	84
Neither Government Completely Trusted their Unique Battalion.....	87
Postwar Treatment.....	88
Commemoration of Mormon Battalion and San Patricio Battalion.....	91
Concluding Remarks.....	92
APPENDICES	
A. MORMON BATTALION ROSTER INFORMATION.....	95
B. NATIONAL ORIGIN DEMOGRAPHIC OF MORMONS AND THE MORMON BATTALION.....	106
C. MORMON SOLDIERS LISTED IN THE NAUVOO TEMPLE ENDOWMENT REGISTER.....	108
D. NATIONAL ORIGIN DEMOGRAPHICS OF KNOWN SAN PATRICIO SOLDIERS.....	112
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	113

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis provides a comparative case study of two distinct military units of American soldiers who fought in religiously designated units, but on opposite sides, during the Mexican-American War: the Mormon Battalion and the Mexican Army's San Patricio Battalion. Both units are unique in American history. The Mexican government recruited the San Patricio soldiers from among United States (U.S.) Army deserters. These soldiers were mostly foreign-born (predominantly Irish) and of the Catholic faith. Meanwhile, the U.S. government recruited the Mormon Battalion from among the displaced Mormon population that had recently been expelled from the state of Illinois. This study takes an American (versus the Mexican) perspective on the war and focuses on Mormon Battalion soldiers' trend toward national allegiance to the U.S. from 1846 to 1847. But why did the Mormon soldiers remain faithful, whereas many foreign-born soldiers who suffered similar persecutions and harsh treatments deserted and defected to the enemy? Historians generally agree that harsh and unjust treatment from officers was one of the principal reasons soldiers deserted. Others include religious persecution, ethnicity, poor living conditions, hard military work conditions, drunkenness, poor treatment for the sick and wounded, lack of food and water, inconsistency with monthly

pay, enticements the Mexican government offered, and seduction.¹ To this list, we can add abandonment, infringement of contract, and dissatisfaction with their unit and the war. After presenting a background history of ethnic and religious persecution in the decades preceding the war, these specific areas² of shared common experiences will be examined for each unit to determine how differences in these areas may have influenced the decision to remain loyal or to defect. The relevance of these issues continues today as the U.S. Army struggles with issues of ethnicity, government treatment, and religion in a very diverse military force.

Both of the battalions are unique and yet they have a surprising number of similarities between them. The foreign-born soldiers, who comprised the San Patricio Battalion, and the Mormon soldiers endured similar persecutions predating the war and experiences as soldiers in the U.S. Army. It was not until each soldier made the fateful decision, during the conflict, to desert and defect to the enemy that their paths truly diverged. Had their circumstances been even slightly different, they might have chosen another path and remained loyal.³ This, however, was not the end to their similarities. Following the war, soldiers from both units received a similarly negative reception from

¹ Timothy A. Garvin, "An Immortal Band of Rogues: Immigrant Disaffection and the San Patricio Battalion in the United States – Mexican War, 1846-1848" (master's thesis, California State University, 2004), 94; Robert Ryal Miller, *Shamrock and Sword: The Saint Patrick's Battalion in the U.S. – Mexican War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 150; and Peter F. Stevens, *The Rogue's March: John Riley and the St. Patrick's Battalion* (Washington: Brassey's, 1999), x-xi, 170.

² Because their information is not relevant, this study will not analyze three of the exonerated (during their courts-martial) deserters, two of whom were too young for service (John Brooke, Case 27 and David McElroy, Case 31) and the other deemed a simpleton (Lewis Prafier, Case 41). The fifteen- and sixteen-year-old boys claimed to desert with the intent of going home (the Mexicans caught them en route and forced them to join the San Patricio Battalion) and the simpleton did not understand what he was doing and should never have been in the military in the first place. U.S. Department of War, Judge Advocate General's Office, *Proceeding of General Court-Martial at Tacubaya, Mexico, 1847*, National Archives, File Number EE525, Case 27, 128-133, Case 31, 149-153, and Case 41, 198-202.

³ In *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*, Jeremy Adelman explains the concept that societies transition through an endless cycle of forking paths and "that things might have gone quite differently under other circumstances." Jeremy Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), 11.

the people they fought to protect, which is opposite from the way the Irish, Mexican, and Mormon populations revere the battalions today.

The only American army battalion ever recruited from one specific religious group, which announced its religious affiliation in the unit's title, is the Mormon Battalion. All soldiers in the battalion,⁴ with the exception of the appointed officers in the commanding staff and the guides, belonged to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (referred to as Mormons, Saints, and LDS). Because the unit consisted of only members of a faith that many Americans regarded as suspect, the government questioned its loyalty. However, the Mormon Battalion faithfully served the U.S. government in its war against Mexico and was essential in the conquest of the California territory because it provided the troops required to establish law and order in the newly conquered lands. The Mormon Battalion is also recognized for conducting one of the longest infantry marches in history (over 2,000 miles), and for trailblazing a wagon road that later generations of migrants would use to move to California.⁵

The San Patricio Battalion is also unique in American history because it was composed primarily of deserting U.S. soldiers. Defectors began joining the Mexican Army before the first official battle of the war. The San Patricio Battalion began as an artillery company, but as more defectors changed sides and foreigners living in Mexico City chose to join the unit, the company expanded to a battalion of about 200 soldiers. These "Irish Deserters" fought with surprising success and distinction for Mexico against

⁴ While at Fort Leavenworth, John Allen was baptized into the LDS faith to join the Mormon Battalion. In California, he was the only member of the battalion court-martialed and excommunicated from the Mormon Church. See Carl V. Larson, *Database of the Mormon Battalion: An Identification of the Original Members of the Mormon Battalion*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, UT: U.S. Mormon Battalion, 1997), 10.

⁵ David L. Bigler and Will Bagley, *Army of Israel: Mormon Battalion Narratives* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 2000), 17-18, 23-29.

their former comrades. With the exception of the commanding officer, the officers and sergeants were commissioned from within their ranks (John Riley, who was a private in the U.S. Army, was one of the first officers commissioned and by the end of the war he held the rank of major). The soldiers in the San Patricio Battalion participated in all the major encounters with both General Zachary Taylor's and General Winfield Scott's armies, from the Battle of Matamoros until most of the battalion was either captured (85 soldiers) or killed (35 soldiers) during the Battle of Churubusco. Following the battle, Scott had the 72 defectors (13 of the 85 captured soldiers were not deserters from the U.S. Army) court-martialed. Although the jury found 65 of them guilty and sentenced them to be hanged, from September 9-13, 1847, only 50 of the soldiers (20 at San Angel and 30 at Tacubaya) hanged for their crimes against the United States.⁶

Because the deserting American soldiers did not leave behind any diaries or journals, it is impossible to know exactly why they deserted and defected to the enemy. In considering the experience of the San Patricio Battalion, historians usually emphasize one of three biased positions: the soldiers were either heroes, victims of circumstance, or traitors. Scholars also disagree as to whether desertion was religiously motivated and the proposed reasons for desertion. Until 1989, most American scholars embraced the idea that the San Patricio soldiers who, following their own selfish intentions (not for religious motives), defected to the enemy, received a just punishment when the Army captured and hanged them as traitors. A premier book on the topic and one that espouses this opinion

⁶ Michael Hogan, *The Irish Soldiers of Mexico* (Guadalajara, Mexico: Fondo Editorial Universitario, 1997), 11, 17, 159-160; Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 28-29; Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 103, 265-271; and Edward S. Wallace, "The Battalion of Saint Patrick in the Mexican War," *Military Affairs* 14, no. 2 (Summer 1950): 84.

is Robert Ryal Miller's *Shamrock and Sword*.⁷ Following Richard McCormack's⁸ example, he bases many of his conclusions on the testimonies provided by the original court-martial records and he develops a number of reasons why they might have deserted. Although Miller gives little credit to religious motives, he is not as strongly opposed to the idea as Ted Hinckley who, in a 1962 article, attempts to counter the myth of religious persecution by relating many stories of religious tolerance.⁹ Instead, Miller's book tends to more closely resemble the interpretation found in Edward Wallace's 1950 article, "The Battalion of Saint Patrick in the Mexican War." Wallace argues that soldiers originally deserted for reasons of self-interest, and that religion was later used to excuse those actions.¹⁰

Beginning in 1984, revisionist historians took a new approach to the topic. Dennis Wynn and Timothy Garvin sympathize with the doomed deserting soldiers, without depicting them as heroes.¹¹ In their works, the San Patricio soldiers became victims of circumstance. The various reasons for desertion, offered by past historians (including religious motivations), are now presented as mitigating circumstances as the historians include social history to better explain the soldiers' circumstances. Both Wynn

⁷ Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*.

⁸ Richard Blaine McCormack, "The San Patricio Deserters in the Mexican War," *The Americas* 8, no. 2 (October 1951): 131-142.

⁹ Hinckley emphasizes President Polk's overtures to alleviate discrimination throughout the article. See Ted C. Hinckley, "American Anti-Catholicism during the Mexican War," *Pacific Historical Review* 31, no. 2 (May 1962): 121-137.

¹⁰ Wallace's article is riddled with inaccuracies: he only identifies sixty of the seventy-two captured San Patricio courts-martial cases and includes a false myth about John Riley serving at West Point prior to the war. The article ends without a concrete conclusion, allowing the reader to interpret the information in multiple ways. Wallace, "The Battalion of Saint Patrick in the Mexican War," 84-91.

¹¹ Garvin, "An Immortal Band of Rogues," xv, 0, 93-94 and Dennis J. Wynn, "The San Patricio Soldiers: Mexico's Foreign Legion," *Southwestern Studies*, Monograph 74 (El Paso: University of Texas at El Paso, 1984).

and Garvin provide additional information on events preceding and following the war, including American countermeasures.¹²

Since 1997, revisionist American historians portray the San Patricio Battalion as a band of patriotic heroes turned martyrs. Religion, along with ethnic persecution, they argue, caused the soldiers to defect to the Mexican Army. In *The Irish Soldiers of Mexico*, Michael Hogan seeks to counter Miller's claim that the San Patricio soldiers were traitors. John Riley has become the central figure in the story, but Hogan uses a plethora of source materials to maintain the focus on all the San Patricio soldiers. He explains how a group of soldiers who were not all ethnically Irish or religiously Catholic became a homogenous unit that fought under the symbol of the shamrock and bore the name of Saint Patrick.¹³ In contrast, Daniel Alvarez's *Memorias de John Reilly* and Peter Stevens' *The Rogue's March* highlight the life of the San Patricio Battalion's Irish leader, John Riley. Both books resemble extended stories, meant to extract an emotional response from the reader and gain sympathy for the soldiers that suffered horrendous ordeals during a time of warfare.¹⁴

Meanwhile, even though there are numerous personal journals,¹⁵ secondary sources, and public records, there has been little evolution in the last 130 years in the historiography of the Mormon Battalion. The exploits of the Mormon Battalion during

¹² Under General Winfield Scott, the U.S. Military formed the Spy Company in May, 1847. This unit, comprised of Mexicans (many of whom were criminals or deserters from the Mexican Army) who provided intelligence, scouted for enemy locations, and acted as counter guerrillas, countered the advantage Mexico gained when they created the San Patricio Battalion. See Wynn, "The San Patricio Soldiers: Mexico's Foreign Legion," 35-38.

¹³ Hogan, *The Irish Soldiers of Mexico*.

¹⁴ Alvarez's book is not credible because it fails to cite a single source used to compile the book. Daniel Molina Alvarez, *Memorias de John Reilly: Batallon de San Patricio* (Mexico: Instituto de Cultura de la Ciudad de Mexico, 2002) and Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, x-xi.

¹⁵ The dedication of some of the soldiers in faithfully keeping their journals is amazing. When Robert Bliss ran out of ink (both black and blue) and could not obtain more, he wrote the remainder in the only fluid he had available, his blood. See J. Cecil Alter, "Journal of Robert S. Bliss, with the Mormon Battalion." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (July 1931): 67.

the Mexican War have become an important part of LDS historical lore. Mormon historians, attempting to define the Church's role in the settlement of the American West, have written the vast majority of books and studies on the battalion. As in the case of historical writings about the San Patricio soldiers, the Mormon Battalion works are also not without bias. However, while some writers selectively report only those occurrences that would glorify the battalion's experiences, other books and articles present a more balanced view of what happened on that long march west.

Following the war, two former soldiers and historians presented distinct works on the travels and accomplishments of the Mormon Battalion. Phillip St. George Cooke, the commander of the Mormon Battalion, presented the first book on the subject. Based on his war journal, *The Conquest of New Mexico and California in 1846-1848*¹⁶ provides an officer's and non-Mormon's perspective of the travels and contributions provided by the Mormon soldiers to their nation. The view presented in the book is a watered-down version of what he actually wrote in his journal, which Ralph Biebert published in *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854*.¹⁷ The second book written during this time period was Sergeant Daniel Tyler's *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*.¹⁸ Under the encouragement of John Taylor, President of the Mormon Church in 1881, Tyler compiled from known soldier journals what the Mormon Church considers the accepted history of the Mormon Battalion experience. Written with a Mormon soldier's perspective, the book lauds the dedication and loyalty of the Mormon

¹⁶ Phillip St. George Cooke, *The Conquest of New Mexico and California in 1846-1848* (Bloomington, IL: Rio Grande Press Inc., 1878).

¹⁷ Ralph P. Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1938).

¹⁸ Sergeant Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War: 1846-1847* (Glorieta, New Mexico: Rio Grande Press, 1881).

soldiers who, despite the persecution prior to the war (which is presented in the first quarter of the book), loyally supported their nation. Both books, although sympathetic to their own agendas, provide a good description of the Mormon Battalion experiences and include some controversial accounts that are not religiously biased.

Likely due to the developing Mormon culture and controversies between the LDS Church and the federal government, for nearly a century following these two books, Mormon historians presented a distorted (too positive) view of the Mormon Battalion experience. Beginning with B.H. Roberts' *The Mormon Battalion*,¹⁹ which promotes the impending (1919) construction of the Mormon Battalion Monument in Salt Lake City, Utah, scholars propagandize the Mormon experience and portray the Mormon Battalion soldiers as selfless and faithful warriors; they were true patriots. Even non-Mormon historians, like Frank Goldner,²⁰ glorify the dedication and accomplishments of the Mormon soldiers. Meanwhile, Paul Bailey, in *The Armies of God*, demonstrates his strong religious biases when he claims that "only a body of men steeped in brotherhood, with a faith transcending reason, could ever, in like condition, have made it."²¹

Beginning in the 1990s, revisionist Mormon historians present a more objective and inclusive accounting of the Mormon Battalion. Norma Ricketts' *The Mormon Battalion*²² provides a thorough collective chronological history based on known journals and papers of Mormon Battalion soldiers. Along with demographical information, she creates an interesting work of social history that includes the wives and families that

¹⁹ B.H. Roberts, *The Mormon Battalion: Its History and Achievements* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Deseret News, 1919).

²⁰ Goldner's book includes the transcribed journal of Henry Standage (a member of the Mormon Battalion). Frank Alfred Goldner, *The March of the Mormon Battalion: From Council Bluffs to California* (New York: Century Company, 1928).

²¹ Paul Bailey, *The Armies of God* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1968), 169.

²² Norma Baldwin Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion: U.S. Army of the West, 1846-1848* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1996).

accompanied the soldiers on their trek toward California. David L. Bigler and Will Bagley's *Army of Israel*,²³ a collection of source narratives with edited commentaries, chronologically relates the Mormon Battalion's history and how the soldiers transformed the land and culture in the West. Finally, Sherman L. Fleek's *History May Be Searched in Vain*, written from a military perspective, questions the combat effectiveness of the Mormon Battalion and whether it was wise to organize a religious unit under a government constituted to separate church and state. Although he provides a good summary of events preceding the Mexican-American War and Mormon Battalion activities during the war, he (like Ricketts) follows the example of previous historians and stresses that the Mormon soldiers were more loyal to their faith than to the federal government.²⁴

In their scholarly works, Mormon historians do not generally focus on desertion since there was only one documented incident in the Mormon Battalion. On August 23, 1846, barely 11 days after leaving Fort Leavenworth, Thomas Gilbert (an emigrant from Canada) decided to leave the battalion and was not seen again.²⁵ However, for the rest of the army during the war, desertion was a major issue. A higher percentage of American soldiers deserted during the Mexican-American War than in any other foreign war. Between 1846 and 1848, approximately 8.3 percent of the U.S. army deserted, twice the rate during the Vietnam War.²⁶ The Army of Occupation consisted of 40,934 regular soldiers and 70,129 volunteers (a total fighting force of 111,063 soldiers). Of these, 5,331 regular soldiers (nearly 13 percent) and around 4,200 volunteers (about 6 percent)

²³ Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*.

²⁴ Sherman L. Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain: A Military History of the Mormon Battalion* (Spokane, WA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2006).

²⁵ Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 46, 154 and Larson, *Database of the Mormon Battalion*, 10-11.

²⁶ Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 23, 173-174.

deserted.²⁷ It is also important to note that 5,000 Irish enlisted²⁸ in both the regular army and volunteer units, and nearly 20 percent (1,000) deserted.²⁹ Although most of these former soldiers simply disappeared, a small percentage defected to the enemy and formed the nucleus of the San Patricio Battalion.

The next chapter will present the tales of these soldiers. Beginning with the history of the war and the ethnic persecution of Irish and German immigrants, experienced from 1820-1845, the chapter will then describe the circumstances which influenced the soldiers' desertion. The third chapter focuses on the Mormon Battalion. Following the same format as the second chapter, it begins with a history of the Mormon experience preceding the war, then explains the circumstances surrounding the enlistment of the Mormon Battalion, and finally describes how Mormon soldiers reacted to the same circumstances that influenced the foreign-born soldiers in their decision to desert. The final chapter provides a comparative study of the foreign-born and Mormon soldiers' experiences and identifies the key reasons why the Mormons remained loyal to the government, whereas many foreign-born soldiers deserted and some defected to the enemy. Following the synopsis of the study, the chapter then highlights how the Mormon Battalion and San Patricio Battalion experiences during and following the war continued to echo one another.

²⁷ Ibid., 23-24 and Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 2-3.

²⁸ It is important to note that the majority of Irish did remain loyal to the United States government. There were seventeen Irish companies serving in the U.S. Army, which consisted generally of Irishmen who had assimilated into American society; these Irishmen, along with other foreigners who had received or were awaiting naturalization, generally despised the defectors because they increased the persecution of German and Irish citizens by fostering the myth that they were untrustworthy. Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 174; Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 128; and Garvin, "An Immortal Band of Rogues," 100.

²⁹ Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 2-3.

CHAPTER 2

SAN PATRICIO BATTALION

When President Polk, an ardent follower of Jacksonian Democracy, took office in 1845, the nation clamored for expansion.³⁰ “Manifest destiny,”³¹ the belief in America’s God-given right to rule the continent,³² demanded resolution of territorial disputes: the U.S. clashed with Mexico over the annexation of Texas (the U.S. also desired to gain control of California, having been unsuccessful at purchasing the land from Mexico); and the U.S. disagreed with Great Britain over control of the Oregon Territory (Great Britain claimed the Canadian border extended into northern California and that Americans were settling their lands). Prior to Polk taking office, the outgoing president and congress approved the annexation of Texas; Mexico declared that this was an act of war. One of the first things the new president did was send troops south to ensure Mexico did not prevent Texas from joining the nation. Later, in February 1846, he ordered the soldiers to enter the contested zone north of the Rio Grande, opposite the Mexican city of Matamoros. On April 25, 1846, the Mexican Army killed eleven U.S. soldiers. Mexico’s attack on American forces provided Polk the pretext to take the nation to war. Since the

³⁰ Westward expansion allowed states to prevent overpopulation and effectively get rid of undesirables. Garvin, “An Immortal Band of Rogues,” 34-36.

³¹ “Manifest destiny,” an expression of Social Darwinism, encouraged the belief that the Anglo-Saxon race was ethnically and religiously superior to other inferior races (including Irish and German). Garvin, “An Immortal Band of Rogues,” 34-36, 55 and Hogan, *The Irish Soldiers of Mexico*, 86.

³² “Americans, brilliant or simple, envisioned their nation from sea to sea, and few worried about the means to accomplish it.” Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 52.

U.S. was already at war with Mexico, Polk wanted to avoid war with Great Britain. However, joint occupation of Oregon Territory was causing too many problems to allow its continuance. Fortunately for the U.S., James Buchanan worked out a compromise with the British in June of 1846, agreeing to set the latitudinal boundary along the 49th parallel.³³

With improved relations between the U.S. and British governments, Polk continued to propagandize war with Mexico as a “patriotic and honorable venture.”³⁴ Once Congress approved Polk’s war bill, most Americans and politicians supported the war effort. Members of Congress who opposed³⁵ the war openly denounced Polk and his administration, but most voted to support the army’s needs.³⁶ Consequently, Congress authorized four increases in the size of the regular army, along with the recruitment of 50,000 volunteers. The War Department directed the formation of infantry and dragoon regiments, along with batteries of artillery. States had no problems meeting their quotas; in fact, they turned away some men because they had too many volunteers.³⁷ Although many Americans supported the effort, there were some ethnic and religious communities who had little to gain by supporting a nation which had ignored their call for justice, equality, and mercy.

³³ Robert W. Johannsen, *To the Halls of the Montezumas: The Mexican War in the American Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 7-8; Richard Bruce Winders, *Mr. Polk’s Army: The American Military Experience in the Mexican War* (College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 1997), 5-12; Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 39-40.

³⁴ The Polk administration used the following means to propagandize the war effort: newspapers, schools, churches, clubs, and other associations. Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 53.

³⁵ This group included abolitionists who worried about the expansion of slavery, members of the Whig Party, and New Englanders who recognized no self-interest in pursuing a war with Mexico.

³⁶ Politicians had learned a lesson during the War of 1812, when individuals who opposed the war were charged with abetting the enemy. Winders, *Mr. Polk’s Army*, 11-12.

³⁷ Of the 7,000 men who volunteered in Pennsylvania, state officials were able to select 2,000 to represent the state. Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 52-53.

In “American Anti-Catholicism during the Mexican War,” Ted Hinckley claims that “the two decades before the Mexican War are renowned for their political liberalism, economic growth, and romantic national optimism.”³⁸ Because of the diversity of American Protestantism, denominational liberalism allowed for diverse religious groups such as the Mormons, Roman Catholics, and Jews to gain a small measure of acceptance.³⁹ As new ethnic immigrants arrived in the United States, new religious faiths were established and national borders expanded, new territories incorporated diverse people (with nonmainstream Protestant beliefs) and the American “community” changed.⁴⁰ But this measure of general acceptance did not prevent those with charcoal-smeared faces of terror and hatred from torching Mormon homes and settlements, Catholic schools and churches, and Jewish businesses.⁴¹ Racial and religious discrimination tore apart early American society. Racism sustained ethnic domination and repression within the national borders. Mainstream society dehumanized nonconformist groups to encourage mistreatment and validate the act of discrimination.⁴²

During the 1840s, thousands of destitute and diseased Irish left their ancestral lands in search of a new home.⁴³ Famine⁴⁴ and unemployment caused these people to immigrate first to England and Scotland; but when they could not find sufficient employment there, and they met with vicious persecution, they left Great Britain for

³⁸ Hinckley, “American Anti-Catholicism during the Mexican War,” 136.

³⁹ Ibid., 130.

⁴⁰ Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* focuses on the nationalist movements in Europe around the mid-nineteenth century. Anderson explains in detail how czarist Russia and the Hapsburgs in Austria-Hungary made concessions to consolidate the people of different ethnicities into one people, without eliminating racism. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York, NY: Verso, 1983), 83-84, 86-88, 99-111.

⁴¹ Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 56.

⁴² Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 148-150, 202.

⁴³ L. Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1997), 29-31.

⁴⁴ The “Irish Potato Famine,” otherwise known as the “Great Hunger,” began in 1845 and killed (through disease and starvation) around 1,000,000 Irish.

America.⁴⁵ Also around this time, European wars caused other ethnic groups to immigrate to new countries in search of employment, stability, and better opportunities.⁴⁶ Because of this massive influx of immigrants, America's population doubled in size each decade (during the 1800s) and by 1846, approached 21,000,000.⁴⁷ A large portion of these immigrants (between 800,000 and 1,000,000) came from Ireland, and had arrived between 1815 and 1846. They sought the mythical "land of opportunities" and desired assimilation into American society; but speculators had already purchased all available land, driving up prices, and jobs were short because the economy was in a slump. Many of the newcomers hoped that the previous Irish-Catholic immigrants could provide them opportunities as they arrived in American ports, but because of self-interest, they were usually denied any favor.⁴⁸

The previous immigrants feared retribution from the rising nativist movement that was most prevalent in America's northeastern states, but spanned the nation. As the American economy became unstable, due partly to its shift towards industrialization and the rise of urban society, paranoia gripped many Americans, and they began to transfer blame for national and local problems to immigrants. Outsiders were a threat to the nation's welfare and a burden to its competitive market.⁴⁹ Garvin explains that this was a "period of American history where notions of racism and discrimination transcended color lines and included those of Irish and German descent . . . [as part of the] lowest

⁴⁵ Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 13-15, 22 and Curtis, *Apes and Angels*, 29-31.

⁴⁶ Garvin, "An Immortal Band of Rogues," xvi.

⁴⁷ In the year 1846, America received more than 154,000 immigrants, with most of them coming from the British Isles. Richard E. Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri, 1846-1852 "And Should We Die . . ."* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1987), 6.

⁴⁸ Garvin, "An Immortal Band of Rogues," xviii, 1-2, 11.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, xvii-xviii.

rung of society.”⁵⁰ Nativists used discrimination to establish a nationalistic identity, one that divided Americans by their ethnicities.⁵¹ Although Americans considered all immigrants a menace, Stevens claims that Samuel F.B. Morse, father of the telegraph and one of the main instigators of the nativist movement, was responsible for the shift which transferred blame for America’s problems especially on to those who practiced Catholicism.⁵² After having a bad experience in Italy, Morse wrote *Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States* (1835), a two-volume attack on the Catholic Church. Many Protestants⁵³ seized Morse’s ideas and immediately became anti-Irish and antipapist.⁵⁴ Many Americans considered Roman Catholicism, with its theocratic structure (which tended to be insular and recognize priesthood sovereignty), a threat to American independence. In some states, like Massachusetts, nativists pushed, unsuccessfully, for legislation limiting Catholic and Irish immigration.⁵⁵

Unable to stop the flow of immigrants, nativists used propaganda to spread their cause and negatively stereotype immigrants. Because most of the Irish immigrants who arrived in America were unskilled laborers, they competed with blacks and other Catholic immigrants for menial jobs. Many, having difficulties finding employment, joined gangs, with the result that the Irish, and other immigrants, were blamed for a rise in crime.⁵⁶ The local press, which included *The Philadelphia Sun*, *Philadelphia Nativist*, *Democratic Register*, and *The Protestant*, supported nativist activities by propagandizing these

⁵⁰ Ibid., 131.

⁵¹ Ibid., 3, 28.

⁵² Stevens, *The Rogue’s March*, 18-19.

⁵³ Representatives from four Protestant denominations, viz. the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist, signed a letter of recommendation for the work. Samuel F.B. Morse, “Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States: the Numbers of Brutus,” *New-York Observer* (1835), <http://jmgainor.homestead.com/files/PU/Lks/FCALUS/FCALUS00.htm> (accessed August 25, 2008).

⁵⁴ Stevens, *The Rogue’s March*, 18-19.

⁵⁵ Garvin, “An Immortal Band of Rogues,” 6-7, 13.

⁵⁶ Stevens, *The Rogue’s March*, 24.

issues.⁵⁷ Along with printing negative articles and literature, publishers followed the English precedent and portrayed the Irish as simians, with porcine features,⁵⁸ in political cartoons. Artists depicted them as dumb, brutish apes that were prone to react, following their primitive instincts, with riotous violence.⁵⁹ Nativists also began using derogatory names, such as “Paddy” and “Bridget,” to identify the Irish.⁶⁰

Although some historians, like Richard Jenson, claim that the cries of discrimination have been exaggerated over time and argue that there is no concrete proof to substantiate some of the myths,⁶¹ during the early and mid-1800s there were numerous acts of mob violence and nativist-instigated persecutions of immigrants. Beginning in 1824, New York Protestants provoked Irish riots when they commemorated King William’s victory over Irish Catholics. Later, in 1834, Massachusetts mobs burned down a Catholic girl’s academy in Boston and a convent in Charlestown, where a nun who wished to leave was supposedly being held captive; although police arrested eight people for the arson, none were convicted of a crime. Finally, in 1838, nativists applied political pressure to Massachusetts Governor Edward Everett and forced Boston’s predominately Irish-born militia (Montgomery Guard) to disband; their justification was that it was too dangerous to allow armed “foreigners” to gather.⁶²

Tensions continued to rise during the 1840s. Increased anti-immigrant propaganda ignited escalating acts of violence across the nation, as nativists claimed that

⁵⁷ Garvin, “An Immortal Band of Rogues,” 14.

⁵⁸ “Because pigs played such a vital part in the Irish economy, it was all too easy for comic artists to equate Irish rebels with the lean, even emaciated pigs of the countryside and to endow United Irishmen with snouts instead of noses.” Curtis, *Apes and Angels*, 31.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 29-31.

⁶⁰ Stevens, *The Rogue’s March*, 24.

⁶¹ Jensen directly refutes the myth that signs discriminating against Irish were posted in American business windows. Richard Jenson, “‘No Irish Need Apply’: A Myth of Victimization,” *Journal of Social History* 36, no. 2 (Winter 2002): 405-407.

⁶² Garvin, “An Immortal Band of Rogues,” 15-17.

immigrants were un-American murderers. Increasing acts of violence between Irishmen and native-born Americans occurred in Massachusetts, Michigan, Connecticut, Maryland, New York, Florida, and Indiana. Finally, on May 3, 1844, thousands of armed, torch-carrying nativists poured into the Irish working-class districts of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The mobs intended to drive the Irish out of the city by force, but the immigrants fought back and after five days of fighting, the mobs left with their mission unaccomplished. They did, however, succeed in burning down three Catholic churches, two rectories, two convents, and over 200 Irish shanties. As the buildings burned, the city's police merely watched while Protestant rioters prevented the fire department from containing and putting out the fires. The five days of fighting left 150 seriously wounded and at least 30 dead Irish immigrants. Throughout the early and mid-1800s, the federal government did nothing to alleviate immigrant persecution. State governments retained the authority to govern civil disputes and power over individual property rights. They also controlled the migration of people within state boundaries.⁶³

Enlistment

When tensions arose between the United States, Great Britain, and Mexico over possession of California and the Oregon Territory, nativists, who adamantly supported the war, questioned the reliability of immigrants. They attempted to pass laws that would limit the number of immigrants who could serve in the military.⁶⁴ However, lawmakers

⁶³ Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 21, 25 and Garvin, "An Immortal Band of Rogues," 17, 28.

⁶⁴ Hinckley, "American Anti-Catholicism during the Mexican War," 135-137 and Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 34.

rejected the legislation when it became clear that the army could not raise a sufficient number of enlistees from native citizens.⁶⁵

When America formally declared war against Mexico, the government had no problem recruiting “volunteers,”⁶⁶ but they continuously had difficulties recruiting regular soldiers from among the native-born populations and required immigrant soldiers to fill the army’s ranks.⁶⁷ Irish and German immigrants became the target recruits. Nearly half of the soldiers that enlisted in the U.S. Army were foreign-born, and of those, most were from predominantly Catholic backgrounds.⁶⁸ These foreign-born soldiers generally enlisted for a steady paycheck,⁶⁹ the promise of land, and early naturalization – not out of a sense of patriotism.⁷⁰ At a time when the American economy was suffering, businesses were failing, and unemployment was rampant, the army was hiring. For many hungry, unemployed Irish and German immigrants, the military offered an ideal job opportunity.⁷¹ These immigrants, many of whom were veteran soldiers who had fought in Europe, hoped to elevate their social status through military service.⁷² However, foreign-born soldiers were ineligible for promotion to the officer ranks, and many were forced to serve under less experienced and incompetent officers who used abuse to try and gain obedience.

⁶⁵ Captain George A. McCall, a recruiter in Philadelphia, claimed “that the ranks of our army could not be filled with men whose intelligence and industry enabled them to fill the higher places in the walks of life.” As quoted in Winders, *Mr. Polk’s Army*, 60.

⁶⁶ Native citizens abhorred regular military service, considering the soldiers to be wage earners and “hirelings.” Instead, native citizens preferred to serve as independent “volunteers,” be subject to less discipline, and to have more control over their terms of service and who their leaders were.

⁶⁷ Garvin, “An Immortal Band of Rogues,” 57.

⁶⁸ 24 percent Irish, 10 percent German, 6 percent English, 3 percent Scottish, and 4 percent from remaining European nations and Canada. Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 9.

⁶⁹ The military paid seven dollars a month, along with food, lodging and health care. Winders, *Mr. Polk’s Army*, 60.

⁷⁰ Garvin, “An Immortal Band of Rogues,” 59-60.

⁷¹ Winders, *Mr. Polk’s Army*, 60.

⁷² Garvin, “An Immortal Band of Rogues,” xix.

Harsh and Unjust Treatment from Officers

During the course of the war, there were two officers whose actions directly influenced the lives of all the soldiers in the U.S. Army: General Zachary Taylor (Old Rough and Ready) and Major General Winfield Scott (Old Fuss and Feathers). Both were veterans, both understood how to communicate effectively with officers, and both could influence their soldiers to accomplish the mission. Unfortunately, few of their junior officers emulated their examples, which included treating immigrant soldiers fairly.⁷³

Some historians might argue that their different approaches to halting desertion encouraged ethnic violence, but in truth, both were trying to use force to prevent further violence. General Taylor ordered deserters to be shot. When the government questioned his activities (proclaiming the measures too harsh and unjust), he boldly challenged the politicians to come up with a suitable alternative.⁷⁴ Later in the war, Major General Scott employed the more tactful approach of reminding his soldiers of the fate of the hanged San Patricio deserters (a pending threat of violence).⁷⁵ Scott's pre-war condemnations of "the officer corps for illegal punishments regularly inflicted on the enlisted men" probably influenced his less harsh approach to the issue of desertion.⁷⁶

⁷³ Through his example, General Taylor tried to teach his subordinates to not always react in a violently rash manner. In the course of trying to physically force an Irish soldier to execute an order that he (the soldier) did not understand, the soldier became frustrated and struck the general. When the officers, stunned by what they had just beheld, prepared to run the offending soldier through with their sabers, Taylor stopped them. The soldier had impressed the general with his show of force, and Taylor told the officers that once trained, the Irishman would make a fine soldier. Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 55.

⁷⁴ Dispatch from General Zachary Taylor. U.S. Department of War, Adjutant General's Office, *In Answer to the Call for Information Relative to Deserters Shot Near Matamoros, May 31, 1846*, National Archives, Correspondence File Number 27932, 1-3.

⁷⁵ U.S. Department of War, Adjutant General's Office, *General Orders Number 296, Headquarters of the Army, Mexico, September 22, 1847*, National Archives, Correspondence File Number 27932.

⁷⁶ Mark A. Vargas, "The Military Justice System and the Use of Illegal Punishments as Causes of Desertion in the U.S. Army, 1821-1835," *Journal of Military History* 55, no. 1 (January 1991): 2, 19.

In the 1840s, the U.S. Army was young and going through changes that reflected changes in society. Young officers, newly graduated from West Point,⁷⁷ tended to be arrogant, abusive, and unprofessional in behavior, especially when trying to conceal their inexperience.⁷⁸ The ambiguous Articles of War provided minimal boundaries to punishments and procedures within the military legal system.⁷⁹ Officers, who were both the prosecutor and judge, were free to impose cruel and unreasonable punishments, while conducting limited or no investigations. Some officers took advantage of the vagueness to interpret blatant forms of abuse as necessary summary punishments. When the number of troublemakers increased because of mistreatment, these officers generally imposed stiffer punishments. Situations were generally worse in frontier and more isolated areas. These extralegal punishments led some soldiers to desert and, in a few cases, to retaliate against the officers in charge.⁸⁰

As the army approached Mexico, abusive punishments became more common and threats changed from verbal to physical occurrences.⁸¹ To maintain control of their soldiers, officers and sergeants employed common forms of discipline, such as loss of pay, demotion, and corrective training (such as holding a sign advertising the soldier's infraction, during off-hours),⁸² which are still in use in today's U.S. Army. Officers also demonstrated arbitrary harshness in administering punishment. Besides flogging or

⁷⁷ From 1838-1845, Major Richard Delafield was the superintendant at West Point. He was a strict disciplinarian who believed cadets needed to be punished for every infraction. Some of the punishments imposed on cadets included confinement in "Dark" prison, restriction, extra guard duty, loss of rank, denial of privileges, and suspension or expulsion from the Academy. James L. Morrison, Jr., *The Best School in the World: West Point, the Pre-Civil War Years, 1833-1866* (Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1986), 22, 40, 73-74.

⁷⁸ Winders, *Mr. Polk's Army*, 61-62.

⁷⁹ "Army law was a complex maze of customs, mandates, and rules based upon British traditions." Vargas, "The Military Justice System," 7.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 2-7, 10-15.

⁸¹ Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 42.

⁸² Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 152.

branding soldiers on the face (HD for habitual drinker, W for worthless, and D for deserter),⁸³ soldiers who fell asleep on guard duty were sometimes shot,⁸⁴ and if a soldier made mistakes in drill, he could lose a month's pay (even first time offenders) or receive discipline immediately if an officer or sergeant decided to slash him on his shoulder with his saber.⁸⁵ But some of the more barbarous punishments (for even minor offenses) included being "buck and gagged,"⁸⁶ placed on a "wooden horse,"⁸⁷ hung from a tree by one's thumbs,⁸⁸ or placed in a hole for 30 days.⁸⁹ Based on the popular ditty (2nd and 3rd verses), written by an unknown Irishmen, it is evident that these forms of discipline were commonly used:

"Sergeant, buck him and gag him," our officers cry
For each trifling offense which they happen to spy,
Till with bucking and gagging of Dick, Pat, and Bill,
Faith, the Mexican' ranks they will help to fill.

The treatment they give us, as all of us know,
Is bucking and gagging for whipping the foe;
But they are glad to release us when going to fight.
They buck us and gag us for malice or spite.⁹⁰

Excessive abuse led some soldiers to rise up in mutiny against their tyrannical leaders. The most infamous incident involved the uprising against Colonel Robert T. Paine, on August 15, 1847. Paine commanded a volunteer regiment from North Carolina.

⁸³ Ibid., 153.

⁸⁴ Garvin, "An Immortal Band of Rogues," 70.

⁸⁵ Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 45 and Winders, *Mr. Polk's Army*, 61.

⁸⁶ The errant soldier sat with "his latter end resting upon his parent earth. His heels are then drawn up until they come in contact with his posterious. His hands are then taken forward of his knees and tied with a handkerchief – a rope should be used when the patient shows violent symptoms. The job is then finished by running a stick under his knees and over his arms." Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 153.

⁸⁷ After having his hands tied behind his back, the delinquent soldier mounted a "wooden horse" that was set-up on the parade ground, and then had weights tied to his feet. He remained on the "wooden horse" for one or more days, subsisting on only water and three crackers. Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 152.

⁸⁸ Garvin, "An Immortal Band of Rogues," 72-76.

⁸⁹ Discipliners usually covered the hole (sometimes with a door) and during their term of confinement, the errant soldier subsisted on water and crackers. Soldiers could receive this punishment for offenses as trivial as running past a "sentry without obeying prescribed military form." Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 152.

⁹⁰ Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 53.

In response to his excessive disciplinary actions, officers and soldiers within his unit tried to force his removal from command and assassinate him. When mutineers ran into complications, soldiers from the neighboring Virginia and Mississippi Regiments joined the doomed mutiny effort.⁹¹ Another incident that created a substantial uproar, although officers quickly suppressed it, involved an officer stabbing a tied-up soldier through the heart for resisting punishment.⁹² In the end, loyal soldiers who enjoyed the established caste system (favoring the American-born, Protestant soldier) usually suppressed mutinies.

Leaders in abusive units generally operated under a double standard in giving punishments. Officers were less likely to be punished for common infractions than enlisted men, and native soldiers received lighter sentences for the same offenses than those given to foreign-born soldiers.⁹³ In one instance, two soldiers equally involved in the same theft, one Irish and the other American, received completely different sentences. The native-born soldier lost one month's pay and served a sentence of 10 days imprisonment, whereas the foreign-born soldier lost three month's pay and received two month's confinement, ending with a dishonorable discharge. Another example involves two soldiers who, while drunk, struck an officer. The native-born soldier received imprisonment, followed by a dishonorable discharge, and the foreign-born soldier received the firing squad.⁹⁴ Meanwhile, defectors told their former mess-mates that the Mexican Army treated foreign-born soldiers fairly and with greater respect.⁹⁵ Blatant

⁹¹ Dispatch from General John E. Wool. U.S. Department of War, Adjutant General's Office, "In Reference to a Mutiny in the North Carolina Regiment," *Orders Number 404, Buena Vista, August 16, 1847*, National Archives, Correspondence File Number 27932.

⁹² Garvin, "An Immortal Band of Rogues," 74.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 71 and Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 53.

⁹⁴ Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 204-205.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 85.

abuse and disparity in treatment encouraged many soldiers to desert and, as stated in the popular ditty's last line of the second verse, fill the Mexican ranks.

Two of the captured San Patricio soldiers explained during their courts-martial that they deserted directly because officers abused them. Lachlin McLachlin alleged that he ran away because a lieutenant in the company had abused him and threatened to kill him.⁹⁶ William H. Keech explained that the night before he came-up missing, he fell out of the day's march. When he arrived later that evening, he was severely disciplined. A witness for the prosecution (during his court martial) claimed that while being punished, Keech declared that "no man in the Army would have the opportunity of tying him up again." The next day, he again fell out of the march (claiming he was sick) and Mexican Lancers captured him.⁹⁷ Another deserter, Patrick Maloney, claimed that he joined the San Patricio Battalion because he was unjustly punished for attacking his sergeant. When his command found him guilty of assault, he lost six month's pay and had to carry around a thirty pound ball for a month, from reveille to retreat.⁹⁸ Not surprising, desertion rates were always higher in abusive units.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ According to testimony provided against Lachlin McLachlin during his court martial, the prisoner was a difficult soldier who was constantly being disciplined and found in the Guard House. A few days prior to his desertion, leaders in his unit brought him up on charges of mutiny – but the charges were later withdrawn. Judge Advocate General's Office, *Proceeding of General Court-Martial at Tacubaya*, Case 18, 90-93.

⁹⁷ U.S. Department of War, Judge Advocate General's Office, *Proceeding of General Court-Martial at San Angel, Mexico, 1847*, National Archives, File Number EE531, Case 17, 85-88.

⁹⁸ Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 154.

⁹⁹ Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 172-173.

Religious Persecution

According to the Constitution's First Amendment,¹⁰⁰ Americans are entitled to the free exercise of religion. However, this freedom has not always been accessible to members of the U.S. armed forces. Prior to the war with Mexico, all army chaplains and sanctioned religious services (given to the troops) were of the Protestant faith.¹⁰¹ Officers habitually forced their Catholic soldiers to attend Protestant services. If soldiers refused or failed to attend the services, they were punished.¹⁰² Even officers faced court-martial for failure to either attend or force their Catholic soldiers to attend these services. For example, in 1843, when Lieutenant John Paul Jones O'Brien, a native-born, third-generation Irish-Catholic (one of the first Catholic officers to graduate from West Point) refused to force his Catholic soldiers to attend the sanctioned Protestant services, his chain-of-command threatened to bring him up on charges. Lieutenant O'Brien challenged his superiors on the threatened court-martial and cited the Constitution to defend his actions. Although his commander eventually dropped all charges, it did not cause the army to change its policies regarding religious observation.¹⁰³ This lack of respect towards the foreign-born and Catholic soldiers' religious preference led some soldiers to question their national loyalty.

During the war with Mexico, the lack of Catholic chaplains gave Mexican priests sway over Catholic soldiers.¹⁰⁴ Mexican churches became a refuge for Catholic soldiers desiring religious succor. Catholic priests began to emphasize to wayward American,

¹⁰⁰ The Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States, became effective on December 15, 1791.

¹⁰¹ Sometimes, even Protestant faiths were discriminated against; William T. Sprole, a Presbyterian, was fired from teaching at West Point to make room for an "authorized" Episcopalian. Morrison, *The Best School in the World*, 57.

¹⁰² Garvin, "An Immortal Band of Rogues," 65.

¹⁰³ Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 37, 58.

¹⁰⁴ Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 156-159.

Catholic soldiers that the Mexican culture offered an environment where they could freely follow their faith, without the threat of violence.¹⁰⁵ A German soldier, who remained loyal to the U.S. government, claimed that it was common practice for Mexican priests to urge Catholic soldiers to desert and defect. Along with reiterating the Mexican government's offered inducements of land, chance for promotion, and money to any American soldiers willing to defect to the Mexican Army, the priests told soldiers that the war "was wrong and [that it was] sinful to fight against their religion."¹⁰⁶ Two of the worst culprits were Fathers Rafael Ignacio Cortez and Eugene McNamara. Their sermons, delivered to General Scott's troops as they marched from Jalapa to Puebla in 1847, blatantly encouraged defection and earned them the enmity of the U.S. Army, which actively sought their arrest.¹⁰⁷

To counter the Mexican government's tactic of using religion to incite desertion and defection within the ranks of the U.S. Army, President Polk appointed two Catholic chaplains: Fathers John McElroy and Anthony Rey, both Jesuits. Although neither accompanied the army beyond Matamoros,¹⁰⁸ their service earned them the respect of Protestant soldiers and helped dispel the myth that the war was an American crusade against Catholicism.¹⁰⁹ Father McElroy's sermons encouraged loyalty to the U.S. government, while refuting the perceived contradiction between loyalty to Catholicism

¹⁰⁵ Garvin, "An Immortal Band of Rogues," 80.

¹⁰⁶ Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 165-166.

¹⁰⁷ Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 156-159.

¹⁰⁸ Mexican bandits (under the likely influence of Mexican, Catholic priests) murdered Father Rey just outside of Matamoros, while he was en route to encourage a suspect unit of regulars to remain loyal. Meanwhile, Father McElroy, suffering from dysentery, chose to remain in Matamoros as General Winfield Scott left with most of the army for Vera Cruz and General Taylor proceeded south towards Saltillo. Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 180-181, 205-206.

¹⁰⁹ Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 132-133.

and patriotic action.¹¹⁰ Unfortunately, any benefit gained with the appointment of these two chaplains was quickly lost when Protestant soldiers (especially volunteers) vandalized and robbed Catholic churches, assaulted priests, and disrupted church services.¹¹¹ These actions allowed priests to encourage further desertions and defections by exclaiming: ““Will you consent . . . to have the holy rites of your church abolished and the sign of your redemption exterminated? . . . Two fates are left open to you: to be vile slaves or independent Catholics.””¹¹² The Mexican government circulated numerous religiously motivated pamphlets and circulars to U.S. soldiers in both General Taylor’s and Scott’s armies. This propaganda, as demonstrated with titles such as “Mexicans to Catholic Irishmen,” stressed the religious and ethnic discrimination foreign-born soldiers suffered from their compatriots, while claiming Mexicans to be their brothers in religion.¹¹³

Even when it was apparent that the United States had won the war, the continuing string of deserters greatly concerned General Scott. Like Taylor, Scott recognized that religious influences and acts of discrimination encouraged many soldiers to desert and defect to the enemy. Since he did not have a Catholic chaplain with his army,¹¹⁴ he used another tactic to combat the enemy priests. He, along with his officers (who did not have a choice), attended local Catholic Church services to demonstrate solidarity with the Catholic faith and conquered Mexican people. When this example of solidarity was not sufficient to end the string of desertions and defections, General Scott addressed his

¹¹⁰ Garvin, “An Immortal Band of Rogues,” 85 and Stevens, *The Rogue’s March*, 132-133.

¹¹¹ Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 162.

¹¹² Stevens, *The Rogue’s March*, 167.

¹¹³ Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 66, 79.

¹¹⁴ General Scott took an Episcopalian chaplain, Reverend Dr. McCarthy, with his army to Vera Cruz. Stevens, *The Rogue’s March*, 205-206.

soldiers directly and warned them not to listen to insurrectionists. He warned his Catholic soldiers that priests were erroneously trying to use religion to encourage desertion. In frustration, the general threateningly reminded them of the captured San Patricio soldiers' fates (hanged).¹¹⁵

Ironically, following the war, the U.S. government and the Department of War denied that religious discrimination and Catholic priestly influences caused soldiers to desert and defect. Perhaps the army recognized that its actions resulted in some soldiers' disloyalty to the nation, or maybe they feared that such an open declaration would further alienate or enrage religiously persecuted soldiers. Regardless of the true reasons, on three separate occasions, officers in the Adjutant General's office claimed that no evidence existed to justify this myth.¹¹⁶ Meanwhile, Mexican leaders, such as General Jose Joaquin Herrera, openly claimed that the Irishmen truly fought for Mexico and Catholicism.¹¹⁷

Ethnicity

Besides appealing to American soldiers' Catholicism, Mexican propaganda pamphlets targeted foreign-born soldiers who were recipients of nativist discrimination, both within American society and the U.S. armed forces. Nativist officers habitually

¹¹⁵ U.S. Department of War, Adjutant General's Office, *General Orders Number 296, Headquarters of the Army, Mexico, September 22, 1847*, National Archives, Correspondence File Number 27932.

¹¹⁶ The Adjutant General's office replied in the negative to three congressional requests to verify if religion was a root cause for the high number of desertions during the war. Their justification for this assertion was that none of the hanged defectors referenced religious persecution in their defense during their courts-martial. U.S. Department of War, Adjutant General's Office, *Memorandum, February 7, 1898*, National Archives, Correspondence File Number 27932; U.S. Department of War, Adjutant General's Office, *Request for Information Reference Whether Religious Scruples or Mexican Priests Responsible for Desertions During the War, February 26, 1898*, 2nd Endorsement, National Archives, Correspondence File Number AGO 27932; and U.S. Department of War, Adjutant General's Office, *Reply to Inquiry, March 24, 1896*, National Archives, Correspondence File Number 34517.

¹¹⁷ Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 231.

discriminated against their foreign-born soldiers. Infrequent ethnic riots occurred when officers and nativist soldiers mocked the Irish and German soldiers' manner of speech, ridiculed their abilities, and referred to them using ethnic slurs. For example, an ethnic German soldier "collared and choked" Colonel Mitchell, 1st Ohio Regiment, after the Colonel berated him, using racial slurs, for failing to obey an order. This led to an ethnic riot within the unit's ranks that was quickly suppressed.¹¹⁸ In another instance, two volunteer units, the Jasper Greens (composed of Scots-Irish immigrants) and Kenesaw Rangers (predominantly Protestant), came to physical blows after the opposing units traded racial insults. The fight killed one soldier and injured both of the units' commanders (who were trying to break up the fight).¹¹⁹ Officers also demonstrated ethnic prejudices in the course of administering military justice. In addition to adjudicating prejudiced verdicts, military judges often denounced the offender's nationality.¹²⁰ Incidents such as these, perpetrated by army officers and fellow soldiers, gave credence to the Mexican government's claim that it was the friendlier employer of foreign-born soldiers. The Mexican government specifically solicited German and Irish American soldiers to join their nation, which they claimed, unlike America, would reward them and appreciate their service.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ This event occurred early in the war, prior to the Battle of Monterrey (September, 1846). Colonel Mitchell was severely wounded in the battle and command of the 1st Ohio regiment passed to Lieutenant Colonel Weller. *The Mexican War and Its Heroes: Being a Complete History of the Mexican War, Embracing all the Operations Under Generals Taylor and Scott, with a Biography of the Officers* (Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1850), http://books.google.com/books?id=yiATAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA46&lpg=PA46&dq=colonel+mitchell+mexican+war&source=web&ots=MXjBna02U2&sig=mm0Vgc_yKN_c3SNP-9SLncGo2VY&hl=en&sa=X&oi=book_result&resnum=4&ct=result#PPA3,M1 (accessed October 18, 2008) and Garvin, "An Immortal Band of Rogues," 77.

¹¹⁹ Garvin, "An Immortal Band of Rogues," 77 and Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 144, 207.

¹²⁰ Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 53.

¹²¹ Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 78.

One of the persistent myths about the San Patricio Battalion is that its makeup was predominantly Irish. According to demographical information, although 79 percent of the battalion consisted of foreign-born deserters from the American army, only 39 percent were from Ireland.¹²² However, Miller's belief that the number should actually be higher bears much consideration. It is highly probable that many who claimed Canada, Britain, or even the United States as their nation of origin when they enlisted had lied in their records to cover-up desertion from the British military.¹²³ John Riley himself, in a letter to the Mexican president, claimed he led 48 Irishmen in his first battle alone¹²⁴ (which is 8 more than the total number of verified Irish-born soldiers identified in Appendix D). It is also highly probable that the 21 percent of the battalion that are listed as native-born soldiers were Catholic and Irish descendants, who most likely had experienced nativist discrimination. Some of these men might have identified themselves as Irishmen (their heritage) when they joined the Mexican Army.

Poor Living Conditions, Hard Military Work Conditions, Drunkenness, Seduction, and Impressment

Living conditions for soldiers, both in garrison and while on the march, were harsh. Even before the war began, while they were in what America considered part of Texas, soldiers resided in tents that provided minimal protection from flies, insects, poisonous creatures, the elements, and the sun.¹²⁵ To make matters worse, a soldier's work was usually tedious and required much physical labor. Besides constructing

¹²² Appendix D, Table 4: San Patricio Battalion Demographics.

¹²³ Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 32.

¹²⁴ John Riley wrote the letter to the Mexican president on August 20, 1848. Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 32 and Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 103.

¹²⁵ Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 9, 14-15 and Garvin, "An Immortal Band of Rogues," 63.

fortresses¹²⁶ and digging wells to obtain serviceable drinking water,¹²⁷ soldiers marched hundreds of miles (sometimes trailblazing new roads), performed tedious guard duty, and constantly drilled (drill, drill, and more drill was something soldiers complained about often).¹²⁸

The poor living and hard work conditions caused many soldiers to become disgruntled with their service. To escape their misery, most soldiers sought relief by consuming alcohol; however, for a few soldiers, alcoholism was not sufficient to lessen their misery and the disgruntled soldiers deserted.¹²⁹ According to the courts-martial records of the captured San Patricio soldiers, 28 of the 72 defendants claimed alcohol (or the search for it) was involved with either their desertion or impressment into service in the Mexican army. Many of the defectors claimed that Mexican civilians and Lancers captured them while they were intoxicated and either directly forced them to join their ranks, or took them to Mexico City where John Riley either tricked or threatened them into joining the battalion.¹³⁰

Strong drink also made the soldiers more susceptible to the enticements of Mexican females who encouraged them to desert. Scantly-clad Mexican sirens, who made themselves visible to the American soldiers, proved a great temptation, especially to unmarried soldiers. Thirty years after the war, “Baldwin,”¹³¹ a San Patricio deserter,

¹²⁶ During this time period, American fortresses were generally five-sided structures, with earthen walls nine feet high and fifteen thick; soldiers organized in “fatigue details” performed the majority of the manual labor required for the fortress’s construction.

¹²⁷ Winders, *Mr. Polk’s Army*, 141.

¹²⁸ Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 15, 43, 69, 165.

¹²⁹ Garvin, “An Immortal Band of Rogues,” 62 and Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 15.

¹³⁰ Judge Advocate General’s Office, *Proceeding of General Court-Martial at San Angel*; Judge Advocate General’s Office, *Proceeding of General Court-Martial at Tacubaya*; and Stevens, *The Rogue’s March*, 218.

¹³¹ The former San Patricio soldier took the pseudonym “Baldwin” to protect his true identity when the *Chicago Tribune* interviewed him. Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 148.

admitted to the *Chicago Tribune* that he deserted because he longed to be with the gaily dressed señoritas. Besides looking for a possible partner, the women encouraged the soldiers to get drunk and then took them to locations where Mexican Lancers waited to capture and impress them into service in the Mexican Army.¹³² At least, that was the claim of Dennis Conahan, one of the captured San Patricio deserters.¹³³ Whether this was true or not was irrelevant to the jurors. They found that Conahan's lusts and poor decisions were no excuse for desertion and defection. The army hanged him with the rest of the captured San Patricio soldiers at San Angel (September 9, 1847).

Poor Treatment for the Sick and Wounded

Besides lowering morale, poor living and hard work conditions, bad water, poor diets, impure air, and bad sanitation practices caused many soldiers to become ill.¹³⁴ The U.S. Army suffered nearly double the number of losses (10,000) from sickness and injuries than died directly in battle.¹³⁵ Soldiers ignorantly drank from contaminated water sources (sometimes containing decomposing corpses), and volunteer soldiers were exceptionally susceptible to dehydration while marching because they did not understand how to properly ration the water they carried in their canteens. Besides the bad water, improperly cooked rations also gave many soldiers diarrhea and dysentery. With weakened immune systems and questionable sexual practices,¹³⁶ soldiers were more susceptible to illnesses, such as yellow fever and venereal diseases. This resulted in the

¹³² Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 31, 148-149 and Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 98.

¹³³ Judge Advocate General's Office, *Proceeding of General Court-Martial at San Angel*, Case 13, 65-68.

¹³⁴ Winders, *Mr. Polk's Army*, 140-142.

¹³⁵ Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 167.

¹³⁶ Soldiers commonly visited prostitutes and contracted venereal diseases.

abandonment, along the side of the road, of many sick and exhausted soldiers who fell out of march.¹³⁷

Inexperienced, incompetent, and negligent doctors increased the suffering of sick and wounded soldiers, causing many deaths. Most medical practices had not progressed in decades. Anesthesia¹³⁸ was a new, rarely used procedure (usually involving whisky at this time), amputation was a standard practice, and unsanitary conditions encouraged the spread of diseases and fatal infections.¹³⁹ Besides failing to properly vaccinate soldiers, doctors administered medical services that usually hurt patients more than helped them. Doctors treated yellow fever with calomel, fevers with arsenic and zinc, dysentery/diarrhea with sulfates of copper and acetates of lead, and diseases with bleeding and opium. Doctors also neglected soldiers and erroneously returned them to duty while they still required treatment. Conditions in field hospitals were so bad that some soldiers preferred to escape from them and rejoin their military unit. When possible, soldiers also preferred self-care to doctor treatment.¹⁴⁰ Some of the soldiers deserted directly because of poor medical treatment they received or failed to receive.

During their courts-martial, Alexander McKee and William H. Keech both claimed that they did not desert, but were instead sick, had fallen out of march, and that Mexican Lancers captured them and, due to their impoverished state, they had to join the

¹³⁷ Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 156; Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 203; and Winders, *Mr. Polk's Army*, 142-143, 157.

¹³⁸ Dr. William T. Morton (a dentist) first developed anesthesiology in 1846. He used ether, and then chloroform (1853) to anaesthetize his patients. Prior to the use of anesthesia, mortality rates were high due to doctors' inability to sufficiently treat hemostasis, infection, and operation pain. Shanghai Yixin Medical Treatment Equipment Co., Ltd., "Knowledge of Anesthetic Analgesia," http://www.sh-yixin.com/en/MedTec_Knowledge_02_en.asp (accessed September 17, 2008).

¹³⁹ Spartacus, "American Civil War," Medical Treatment, <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USACW/medical.htm> (accessed September 17, 2008).

¹⁴⁰ Winders, *Mr. Polk's Army*, 146, 152-156, 160.

Mexican army.¹⁴¹ Mexicans also captured sick soldiers when officers, under doctors' endorsements, made them perform their regular duties.¹⁴² Even though he was very sick, Henri Venator's supervisors put him on guard duty. While on duty, he heard a noise and went to investigate. Because it was so dark and he was in a weakened condition, he lost his way and Mexican Lancers captured him.¹⁴³ Meanwhile, Henry Octker admitted, during his court-martial, that he had deserted the army, but pleaded innocent to the charge of defection. While at the Rio Grande, Octker broke his collarbone. Instead of treating the injury, doctors returned him to his unit and officers forced him to march and do regular duty. He claimed that he ran away because he could no longer suffer the great pain and harsh treatment.¹⁴⁴

Lack of Food and Water

Besides causing illness, the poor quality of drinking water and rations, or even the lack of either form of sustenance, lowered morale and forced some soldiers to forage for food and water on their own. The scarcity of water holes necessitated the construction of new wells; at times, soldiers marched for hours without replacing the water in their canteens. Stevens claims that during a 150-mile march, Taylor's Army of Occupation went twenty-six hours without water.¹⁴⁵ When water was available, it was usually brackish and unpalatable (soldiers sometimes mixed it with whisky to buffer the taste). Rations were no better. Soldiers ate rancid bacon and beef, their hardtack was moldy, and

¹⁴¹ Judge Advocate General's Office, *Proceeding of General Court-Martial at San Angel*, Case 17, 85-88 and Case 26, 129-134.

¹⁴² Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 61.

¹⁴³ Witnesses corroborated his story, but the jury ruled him guilty and hanged him. Judge Advocate General's Office, *Proceeding of General Court-Martial at San Angel*, Case 1, 1-8.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Case 19, 93-97.

¹⁴⁵ Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 69.

at times, officers cut their rations.¹⁴⁶ In desperation, some soldiers left their units to hunt for additional food sources.

According to their courts-martial records, Patrick Dalton and Auguste Morstadt were captured by Mexican Lancers while they were searching for corn. James McDowall was captured while hunting beef at Vera Cruz, and Hezekiah Ankles while he was hunting deer. Jurors during these courts-martial found all of the defendants guilty and sentenced them to be hanged, even though McDowall had witnesses that corroborated his story. One soldier even claimed to see him get captured, but failed to report the incident in fear of officer retribution for the unauthorized hunting expedition. Instead of considering their compelling stories, the jury believed that these hungry soldiers deserted. Whether the Mexicans captured them (as they all claimed) or they surrendered themselves to the enemy, they were defectors who needed to be punished.¹⁴⁷ Upon reviewing the four cases, General Scott only remitted Ankles' sentence. Based on mitigating circumstances, Scott commuted his sentence to 50 lashes and branding the letter "D" on a cheek.¹⁴⁸

Inconsistency with Monthly Pay and Enticements from the Mexican Government

Along with providing an inconsistent supply of rations, the U.S. government paid its soldiers miserly wages. Before the war, many in Congress continued to disregard the importance of a standing regular army for the nation's defense. They saw it as an

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 44, 107 and Winders, *Mr. Polk's Army*, 141.

¹⁴⁷ Judge Advocate General's Office, *Proceeding of General Court-Martial at San Angel*, Case 6, 29-35; Case 14, 69-74; Case 24, 119-124; and Judge Advocate General's Office, *Proceeding of General Court-Martial at Tacubaya*, Case 16, 81-85.

¹⁴⁸ U.S. Department of War, Adjutant General's Office, *General Orders Number 281, Headquarters of the Army, Tacubaya, September 8, 1847*, National Archives, Correspondence File Number 27932, 3.

unnecessary drain on tax income. Therefore, they authorized a small regular army (ignorantly depending on their untrained state militias to provide defense in the event of a foreign war) and paid their officers and soldiers low wages. To make matters worse, the government habitually failed to pay soldiers on time, if at all.¹⁴⁹ Soldiers went for months without payments.¹⁵⁰ Some disgruntled soldiers and officers resigned or deserted to demonstrate their displeasure with the government's indifference to their condition. Private Richard Hanly, during his court-martial, stressed that he was due money from the U.S. government when he joined (after being captured and impressed into service) the Mexican Army.¹⁵¹ Meanwhile, in a rare case, jurors dropped all charges against Private Edward Ellis when he proved that, due to a clerical error in his enlistment,¹⁵² he had never received any pay nor actually belonged to the U.S. Army.¹⁵³

Given these circumstances, it is no surprise that some soldiers chose to defect to the Mexican Army. In contrast to the American government's apparent indifference to its defenders, the Mexican government paid its soldiers higher wages. In 1846, the Peso exchanged for \$.96 U.S. The difference in monthly pay between the U.S. and Mexican soldier increased with rank, but was always higher for Mexico, from the rank of Private (7 dollars U.S. versus 8.5 pesos Mexican) to Colonel (81 dollars U.S. versus 200 pesos

¹⁴⁹ The military continues to experience problems in paying its soldiers. The author of this thesis went two months without pay due to a simple clerical error, and failed to receive command support to correct the problem until he personally brought it to the attention of his Battalion Commander.

¹⁵⁰ Garvin, "An Immortal Band of Rogues," 64.

¹⁵¹ Judge Advocate General's Office, *Proceeding of General Court-Martial at Tacubaya*, Case 22, 106-110.

¹⁵² No officer was present when Ellis enlisted. Because his paperwork lacked an officer's authorizing signature and he never swore the oath of allegiance, it was filed as incomplete and the government did not pay him.

¹⁵³ Judge Advocate General's Office, *Proceeding of General Court-Martial at Tacubaya*, Case 33, 160-164.

Mexican).¹⁵⁴ This was something that Mexican officials highlighted in the desertion propaganda that they distributed among the American soldiers. Throughout the war, Mexican officials offered favorable inducements to encourage immigrant soldiers to defect. Beginning with a small trickle, more and more soldiers later began to risk desertion for more favorable conditions and opportunities. Besides higher salaries, they proffered money bonuses,¹⁵⁵ opportunities for rank advancement¹⁵⁶ with the possibility of joining a deserter unit, generous land grants,¹⁵⁷ civilian clothes, a horse, a drink, and even a guide to assist the defector in reaching Mexico City or the Mexican army.¹⁵⁸

Infringement of Contract, Abandonment, and Dissatisfaction

Worse than failure to consistently pay the soldiers was the blatant infringement of their contracts that occurred when General Winfield Scott's Army shipped south towards Vera Cruz, en route to Mexico City. Soldiers with enlistments ready to expire suddenly had them extended for the duration of hostilities. In open rebellion against the government's "stop-loss" action, some of these affected soldiers decided to desert once the first opportunity presented itself for a safe escape.¹⁵⁹

As the war continued and soldiers saw the actions and inactions of both governments and peoples, along with the destruction left behind from warfare, many became disillusioned about what recruiters had convinced them was a just war. Such was

¹⁵⁴ Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 39.

¹⁵⁵ Antonio Lopez de Santa-Anna's April, 1847 proclamation from Orizava offered 10 dollars for desertion without arms, and more if armed, along with 500 dollars and rank to anyone who led 100 men to also desert.

¹⁵⁶ Foreign-born soldiers were ineligible for promotion to officer ranks in the U.S. Army. Winders, *Mr. Polk's Army*, 61-62.

¹⁵⁷ Antonio Lopez de Santa-Anna's April, 1847 proclamation from Orizava offered 200 square acres of land to any deserter upon successful completion of the war.

¹⁵⁸ Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 30-31, 46, 49, 64.

¹⁵⁹ Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 181.

the case with Elizier S. Lusk, who deserted because he wanted to go home.¹⁶⁰ Others, like John Riley, claimed that their conscience dictated that they desert to the enemy and fight for the “liberty of a people which had war brought on them by the most unjust aggression.”¹⁶¹ Some soldiers also began to take offence with the whole concept of “Manifest Destiny,” since it taught that God’s will was that Protestants (not Catholics) control the western frontier.¹⁶² The continuous stream of desertions, despite American victories, demonstrates the dissatisfaction felt by many soldiers with the war.

Dissatisfaction with their assigned unit also led some soldiers to desert. Andrew Nolan, a wounded veteran from the Battle of Monterey, stated in his defense “that he was dissatisfied with his situation in K Company,” so after informing officers of his desired course of action, he deserted the unit. Nolan claimed that he intended to rejoin a former unit, which treated him better, but he was captured by Mexicans while en route to Saltillo.¹⁶³

While some soldiers ran away, deserting their units and failing to honor their contract with the government, the army should be held accountable for the loss of some soldiers – specifically those that they abandoned while marching between locations. As previously stated, during long marches, scores of men collapsed from dehydration, sickness, and extreme heat. As a common practice, units abandoned these soldiers along

¹⁶⁰ Lusk admitted during his court-martial that he lost his senses and deserted, but pleaded innocent to the charge of desertion to the enemy; he claimed that he did not willingly join the San Patricio Battalion. The jurors found him guilty and hanged him. Judge Advocate General’s Office, *Proceeding of General Court-Martial at San Angel, Mexico*, Case 11, 57-60.

¹⁶¹ From a letter John Riley wrote to the President of Mexico. Stevens, *The Rogue’s March*, 94.

¹⁶² Garvin, “An Immortal Band of Rogues,” 34, 36.

¹⁶³ Jurors found Nolan guilty of desertion to the enemy, and the Army hanged him in San Angel, Mexico. Judge Advocate General’s Office, *Proceeding of General Court-Martial at San Angel*, Case 22, 109-113.

the side of the road.¹⁶⁴ Besides the cases already mentioned dealing with sick soldiers (Alexander McKee and William H. Keech), units also abandoned drunk or lame soldiers.

On December 10, 1846, John Daly's unit left him on the side of the road due to drunkenness and inability to keep up with the unit. When he sobered up sufficiently to continue his march, Daly linked-up with a group of sick American soldiers from the 2nd Infantry Regiment and boarded a steamboat for transport down river. According to Daly's testimony, Mexicans captured him when he went ashore from the sick boat and later forced him to join the Mexican Army.¹⁶⁵

General Scott must have felt some level of responsibility for these soldiers' situations, because he commuted the sentences to 50 lashes and the branding of the letter "D" upon the face for two of the three condemned defectors.¹⁶⁶ These three soldiers were fortunate to have survived their abandonment. Units sometimes sent "sick wagons" back to collect those soldiers left behind during the day's march. The recovery crews found many of these sick, lame, and dehydrated soldiers dead, either from natural causes or because bandits and Mexican Lancers had murdered them in their weakened condition.¹⁶⁷

Summary

Life for a foreign-born soldier in the U.S. Army was very precarious during the Mexican-American War. Besides fearing abandonment, extended terms of service, and receiving low and inconsistent pay, soldiers had little protection from tyrannical leaders

¹⁶⁴ Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 69.

¹⁶⁵ Judge Advocate General's Office, *Proceeding of General Court-Martial at Tacubaya*, Case 11, 52-57.

¹⁶⁶ Adjutant General's Office, *General Orders Number 281*, 3 and U.S. Department of War, Adjutant General's Office, *General Orders Number 283, Headquarters of the Army, Tacubaya, September 11, 1847*, National Archives, Correspondence File Number 27932, 3.

¹⁶⁷ Winders, *Mr. Polk's Army*, 143.

who operated under a double standard and imposed cruel and unfair punishments. Some officers followed the nativist trend and continued to ethnically and religiously persecute and ridicule foreign-born Catholic soldiers. Although President Polk assigned two Catholic chaplains in an attempt to dispel the idea that the war was a crusade against Catholicism, officers still forced Catholic soldiers to attend Protestant services and allowed, through omission, Protestant soldiers to rob and vandalize Catholic churches. Because of these actions, and the fact that neither of the Catholic chaplains accompanied the army beyond Matamoros, Mexican priests continued to gain influence over foreign-born Catholic soldiers who sought religious comfort during the war.

Like all the soldiers serving in both Taylor's and Scott's armies, foreign-born soldiers also lacked the common comforts of clean and dry lodging, good drinking water, competent medical treatment, and sufficient food. Their tents were infested with rodents and insects, which carried diseases. Incompetent and negligent doctors mistreated many patients and commonly returned them to duty before healing them. These soldiers were required to perform normal soldier work (pulling guard duty, performing drill, marching, or building defensive fortification) which was very tedious and physically demanding. Soldiers sometimes performed these labors after consuming rancid rations or having their rations cut. This drove some soldiers, in desperation, to risk capture by the enemy and forage for additional food.

To escape the misery associated with soldier life and to forget the maltreatment from bad officers, foreign-born soldiers turned to alcohol. One-third of the San Patricio soldiers claimed alcohol was involved with their ultimate defection to the Mexican Army. Others, disgusted by their treatment (desertion rates were always higher in abusive units)

and disillusioned with the war, openly embraced the higher pay, chance for advancement, and other incentives offered by the Mexican government. These soldiers became the core of the San Patricio Battalion.

In contrast, the Mormon Battalion soldiers suffered similar hardships and persecutions, but remained loyal to the U.S. government. The second half of this comparative case study will now identify the Mormon soldiers' history, experiences, and how they reacted to comparable conditions and situations. It will also highlight some of the differences which caused the Mormons to remain loyal.

CHAPTER 3

MORMON BATTALION

Before the war, another religious group with a theocratic structure, which nativists feared threatened American independence,¹⁶⁸ had formed within the borders of the United States – the Mormons. From the date of its founding in 1830 until the Mexican War, hostile neighbors viciously persecuted and through “quasi-legal”¹⁶⁹ and extra-legal means expelled members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints out of their homes and settlements.¹⁷⁰ The more notable settlements included Kirtland, Ohio; Jackson County, Missouri; Far West, Missouri; and Nauvoo, Illinois. In each of these locations, the Saints built cities, churches, and schools, and lived a form of communal capitalism which effectively intertwined the church and government. Besides directing religious affairs, the prophet Joseph Smith as the head of the theocracy was directly involved in most of its ventures, from banking (the Kirtland bank eventually collapsed and led to a

¹⁶⁸ Some of the fear exhibited by locals was not without merit. As Mormon settlers moved into Jackson County, Missouri (what they called New Jerusalem or the city of Zion), some told their neighbors that the Mormons would be the sole inheritors of the land and that all Gentiles would either have to leave or convert to Mormonism. Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 57.

¹⁶⁹ “Governor Lilburn Boggs, an icon of disdain for Mormons, issued his infamous ‘extermination order,’ which seemingly authorized an “open season” on Mormons if they did not flee from the state.” Baugh, “the Haun’s Mill Massacre and the Extermination Order of Missouri Governor Lilburn W. Boggs,” 1-5 as quoted in Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 58.

¹⁷⁰ These mobs of discontented citizens (many of whom had been the original settlers of the land) included not only ruffians and desperados, but also civic leaders and upstanding members of the community who believed that a fanatical theocracy would gain control of local politics and threaten the rights and values of the community.

number of members leaving the church) to commanding the Nauvoo Legion (which numbered between 3,000-4,000 soldiers at its peak, and was second in size to the U.S. regular army).¹⁷¹ Although the Mormons established local militias for their own protection, they were never sufficient to protect the Saints. With the exception of Far West, where county militias faced each other in actual combat,¹⁷² the Saints were usually slaughtered.¹⁷³ Joseph Smith sought redress and support from the federal government. He traveled to Washington D.C. and even met with President Martin Van Buren; although he showed how the Saints had been robbed of millions of dollars' worth of property (along with the lives of scores of its members), in the end, the government offered nothing but consoling words. According to Fleek, "There was no legal or political precedent by which the federal government could intervene."¹⁷⁴

Nauvoo, Illinois was the last Mormon settlement lost prior to the Mexican War. Initially, the residents of Illinois welcomed the Saints. They were industrious people and after a short time, they turned marshes into a beautiful and prosperous city. The Saints received a generous charter from the state, which allowed Mormon leaders to establish municipal courts, a university, and city militia. But again, as the Saints' numbers grew, the locals began to fear their political influence and were revolted by rumors of polygamy. The final straw was when the *Nauvoo Expositor* printed a story that denounced Joseph Smith, the Mormon Church, and the practice of polygamy.¹⁷⁵ Joseph Smith ordered the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor* press and then instituted martial

¹⁷¹ Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 56-60.

¹⁷² The Mormon militia in Far West eventually surrendered, was disarmed, and left to the mercies of the Missouri "mobocrats" – who showed no mercy.

¹⁷³ For example, on October 31, 1838, 17 Mormon men and boys were killed at Haun's Mill Massacre.

¹⁷⁴ Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 59.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 60.

law as tensions rose. After parading the Nauvoo Legion in the city to demonstrate law and order, Joseph Smith followed the state governor's orders and relinquished the Nauvoo Legion's arms to Captain Dunn (an officer in the state militia); this action affectively disarmed the Saints again and left them subject to mob persecution.¹⁷⁶ Joseph Smith was arrested and held at Carthage, then murdered by a mob of militiamen and prominent citizens; of the five men arrested for the murders, county authorities allowed them all to escape justice.¹⁷⁷

With the death of Joseph Smith, leadership of the theocracy passed to Brigham Young. He soon decided it was time for the Saints to find a new land where they could practice their faith and live free from persecution.¹⁷⁸ Desperate for funds, Young instructed Jesse Carter Little¹⁷⁹ to appeal again to the federal government for assistance. Little immediately gathered letters of endorsement from influential politicians who were supportive of the Mormons' plight and then wrote President Polk a letter outlining the persecutions suffered by the Saints, their need for assistance, and their desire to remain U.S. citizens. He exaggerated the number of Saints both in the U.S. and Great Britain. He claimed that there were 12 to 15 thousand who had just left Nauvoo, 40 thousand currently in Great Britain awaiting migration, and thousands more scattered among the remaining states. According to Little, all of these people planned to migrate to Oregon Territory.¹⁸⁰ Little claimed that:

¹⁷⁶ Pauline Udall Smith, *Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion* (Salt Lake City, UT: Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., Foundation, 1958), 38-40.

¹⁷⁷ Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 61.

¹⁷⁸ Mob violence had left most of the Saints destitute. Between Missouri and Illinois, John W. Hess, a Mormon Battalion soldier, lost two homes and most of his possessions. J. Cecil Alter, "John W. Hess, with the Mormon Battalion." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 4, no. 2 (April 1931): 47.

¹⁷⁹ Little was the appointed leader of the Saints then residing on the East Coast of the United States.

¹⁸⁰ Jesse C. Little, as cited in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 32-35.

[Mormons were] true hearted Americans, true to our country, true to its laws, true to its glorious institutions – and we have a desire to go under the outstretched wings of the American Eagle. We would disdain to receive assistance from a foreign power, although it should be proffered, unless our government shall turn us off in this great crisis and will not help us, but compel us to be foreigners.¹⁸¹

By first outlining the possible number of Mormons who would soon reside in the territory and then offering the veiled threat to seek British aid if the U.S. government was not prompt to support the plight of its people, Little gained the attention of the president. Little submitted this letter on June 1, 1846 while the U.S. border dispute with Great Britain still existed. A host of some 60 to 70 thousand people would be a powerful political element in the contested region.¹⁸² Since the majority of Saints mentioned were British, their natural loyalties would be with the foreign power. However, Little implied that British Saints would accept American citizenship over British nationality, based on their conversion of faith.¹⁸³ As a consequence, Polk agreed to meet with Little and developed a plan to “conciliate them [the Mormons], and prevent them from assuming a hostile attitude towards the U.S. after their arrival in California.”¹⁸⁴ The president offered the Mormons enlistment in the army, under General Kearny (who was leading the expedition against California); but the enlistment was supposed to occur upon arrival in California. Enlistment would provide income to the newly arrived Saints, demonstrate their loyalty to their nation, and give them credence as initial settlers in the new territory. This was a concessionary tactic by the president, since the army already had a surplus of volunteers that were being turned back by the thousands. However, along with this offer

¹⁸¹ Jesse C. Little, as quoted in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 34.

¹⁸² This was not a new concept. Between 1844-1845, Father Eugene McNamara, an Irish-Catholic priest, unsuccessfully plotted with the British and Mexican governments to resettle 10,000 Irish immigrants in California. This scheme would have supported both the British government’s attempt to control more of the Oregon Territory and provided a buffer for the Mexican government against their expansionistic northern neighbor. Hogan, *The Irish Soldiers of Mexico*, 144-145.

¹⁸³ Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 76.

¹⁸⁴ James K. Polk, as quoted in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 36.

came certain stipulations: the size of the unit was limited to one battalion of 500 soldiers and they were to be commanded by a regular army officer.¹⁸⁵ However, due to a miscommunication in the message sent from the War Department to General Kearny (which benefitted the Saints), the Saints enlisted in the Mormon Battalion prior to their arrival on the west coast.¹⁸⁶

Enlistment

When Captain James D. Allen first arrived at the Saints' camp in the Iowa Territory with the intention of enlisting 500 men, the homeless Saints demonstrated an initial lack of enthusiasm. Men who later joined the battalion described their negative initial reactions in their journals and diaries. John Steele said, "I will see them in hell before I will fire one shot against a foreigner for them those [sic] who have mobbed, robbed, plundered and destroyed us all the day long and now seek to enslave us to fight for them."¹⁸⁷ Abraham Day III more bluntly stated, "Here is one man who will not go, dam'um."¹⁸⁸ Henry Bigler expressed his concern for answering the call by stating, "Here were the Saints with their wives and children in an Indian country, surrounded by savages, without a house, and a scanty [meager] supply of provisions. . . . to leave them thus to go at the call of our country, to say the least, was rather trying."¹⁸⁹ William Hyde saw the situation as a skillfully devised trap; if the Saints failed to supply the requisite 500 soldiers, their adversaries would denounce them as national enemies, but if the

¹⁸⁵ James K. Polk, as cited in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 35-37.

¹⁸⁶ William L. Marcy, as cited in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 38-39

¹⁸⁷ John Steele, "Extracts from the Journal of John Steele," 6-7 as quoted in Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 54 (Quoted from another secondary source, this journal does not match up with the copy on hold in the LDS Archives; it is Fleek's belief that the journal could be an abridgement of the original and kept with some unknown family member).

¹⁸⁸ Abraham Day III Journal, typescript, 6, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

¹⁸⁹ Henry W. Bigler Journal, July 15, 1846, as quoted in Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 2.

Church provided the soldiers, they would be “in their power to be destroyed as they had done our leaders at Carthage.”¹⁹⁰ What most Saints did not initially know was that President Young had solicited help from President Polk, and that this offer of enlistment was the result.¹⁹¹ Once this became common knowledge, thanks to Brigham Young talking to the assembled Saints and Church leadership actively encouraging enlistment, a United States flag (which had been faithfully carried during the exodus from Illinois) was hoisted over the enrollment table and Captain Allen began enlisting the 500 soldiers necessary to form the Mormon Battalion.¹⁹²

A number of Saints who joined the Mormon Battalion first encountered Captain Allen as they themselves arrived at Council Bluffs.¹⁹³ Although the idea of a Mormon Battalion intrigued some, they chose not to enlist until after Allen had gained the support of Brigham Young.¹⁹⁴ Some, like George Washington Taggart, arrived after both Allen and Young had issued their speeches and enlisted for more patriotic reasons.¹⁹⁵ In a letter written to his wife, Fanny, on August 6, 1846, Taggart justified his enlistment by claiming:

I have forsaken for the time being My possessions My Family and at the risk of life start for Mexico as a united States Soldier with 500 of my Brethren in order to show that the Blood of my Grandfathers who fought and bled in the revolutionary war and the spirit of liberty and freedom still courses in the veins of some of their posterity that are called Mormons, I go forward on this expedition with ful[l] faith

¹⁹⁰ William Hyde Journal, 12 July 1846, typescript, 18, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

¹⁹¹ Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 2.

¹⁹² Abraham Day III Journal, 6 and Smith, *Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion*, 56.

¹⁹³ Alter, “John W. Hess, with the Mormon Battalion,” 49.

¹⁹⁴ James Ferguson arrived from Great Britain in time to hear Captain Allen’s call for soldiers. He enlisted as a private on July 9, 1846, one week after Allen secured Brigham Young’s support. Will Bagley, *A Bright, Rising Star: A Brief Life and a Letter of James Ferguson Sergeant Major, Mormon Battalion; Adjutant General, Nauvoo Legion* (Spokane, Washington: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2000), 6-7.

¹⁹⁵ George Washington Taggart, “A Short Sketch of His Travels with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints February 17, 1846 – January 11, 1847,” transcribed from journals, 4-5, Marriot Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT.

and confidence that My life wil[l] be preserved and that I shall again have a joyful meeting with you and Eliza Ann and enjoy a long and happy life here upon the earth.¹⁹⁶

The call for enlistment came at a very inconvenient time for the Saints.

Even after the presidency of the Mormon Church advocated enlistment, many still looked upon the situation with astonishment and fear.¹⁹⁷ Not only had they recently been evicted from their homes, but the majority of those best suited for enlistment (young, single males) were in neighboring states searching for employment. Consequently, for the Mormons to reach the army's goal of 500 soldiers, an inordinate number of fathers had to leave their families to serve the government.¹⁹⁸ Despite Brigham Young's endorsement, some Mormons continued to oppose enlistment and transferred their feelings of negativity towards those who volunteered. Besides lightly esteeming their service, soldiers, and their families, became the target of negative remarks.¹⁹⁹ Lieutenant Lorenzo Clark, a Mormon Battalion veteran, remembered the following story that occurred prior to the Battalion's departure from Council Bluffs:

A lady who belonged to the Battalion was in conversation with another lady, and when interrogated about her husband going to California, and asked how she felt, the reply was, that she would rather be a soldier's widow than a coward's wife.²⁰⁰

Regardless of the dissidents feelings, Brigham Young proclaimed that the "Mormon Battalion was organized from our camp to allay the prejudices of the people, prove our loyalty to the government of the United States, and for the present and

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 19.

¹⁹⁷ Brigham Young, "The Enlistment of the Mormon Battalion in the Service of the United States," April 5, 1848 as quoted in Goldner, *The March of the Mormon Battalion*, 247.

¹⁹⁸ Roberts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 21.

¹⁹⁹ Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 351.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 358.

temporal salvation²⁰¹ of Israel.”²⁰² Following the enlistment, as the battalion prepared to depart, Brigham Young stressed the importance of the officers caring for their soldiers. They were told to treat them as if they were their fathers.²⁰³

Harsh and Unjust Treatment from Officers

Four officers commanded the Mormon Battalion during its one-year enlistment. According to orders received from General Kearny, Captain Allen (the first commander) assumed the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, with the assigned position of Battalion Commander, once he had enlisted the Mormon Battalion. The men of the Mormon Battalion perceived Colonel Allen as a good man who stood up for the rights of his soldiers. While recruiting, Allen showed empathy toward the Saints and allowed families to accompany the unit, feeding some of the private animals at public expense. He obtained sufficient provisions for his troops and “was never abusive or tyrannical, which is the case with nearly all regulars.”²⁰⁴ The Mormons held him in great esteem and when news of his passing reached the battalion on August 23, 1846, William Coray wrote, “suffice it to say that it caused more lamentation from us than the loss of a Gentile ever did before.”²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ A popular Mormon conspiracy theory is that Brigham Young’s ardent support for raising the Mormon Battalion foiled the political actions of Senator Thomas H. Benton (MO), who unsuccessfully sought government sanction to eliminate the Mormons while they wintered in the Iowa Territory. Abraham Day III Journal, 7 and Winders, *Mr. Polk’s Army*, 191.

²⁰² Roberts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 23.

²⁰³ Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 128-129.

²⁰⁴ Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 47; William Hyde Journal, 26 August 1846, typescript, 22, Lee Library.

²⁰⁵ Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 47.

With Allen's death, command passed to Captain Jefferson Hunt (the senior captain),²⁰⁶ who then relinquished it to Lieutenant Andrew Jackson Smith (U.S. Army) on August 30, 1846. Under Lieutenant Smith, the Mormon Battalion completed its march to Santa Fe, New Mexico, but not without significant drama. Mormon soldiers were not accustomed to army discipline or trained to respond to general army commands. Life under the strict, authoritarian command of regular army officers was difficult. To make matters worse, Lieutenant Smith was arrogant, ambitious for rank, vicious, self-centered, impulsive, and too easily influenced by his fellow officers (especially the notorious Dr. George W. Sanderson).²⁰⁷

On October 9, 1846, Lieutenant Colonel Phillip St. George Cooke, U.S. Army, replaced Lieutenant Smith as commander of the Mormon Battalion. Colonel Cooke was a strict but fair disciplinarian. According to Bigler and Bagley:

He tracked provisions to the ounce, gave maintenance of tools and equipment a high priority, and when water was scarce saw to it that the mules and oxen drank first. At the same time he worried every day about the welfare of his men and agonized over decisions that might put their lives in danger.²⁰⁸

Upon assuming command, Cooke noted the soldiers' deficiency in drill and took time to train the soldiers and ensure that they were battle ready. His insistence on order and systematic procedures ensured the expedition's success. Although he spoke using a rare combination of profanity with invectives, his dedication to his soldiers and mission soon

²⁰⁶ During Captain Hunt's short reign of command, he resolved two attempted mutinies from within the Mormon ranks (Lieutenants Canfield and Clift ventured to supplant their commanders, Captains Higgins and Brown); Hunt dismissed all charges after the officers proffered apologies over the matter, admitting that the situations had grown completely out of control. Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 44, 60.

²⁰⁷ William T. Allison, Jeffrey Grey, and Janet G. Valentine, *American Military History: A Survey from Colonial Times to the Present* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2007), 41.

²⁰⁸ Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 146.

earned the Mormons' respect and trust.²⁰⁹ His dedication to his troops was rewarded with loyalty. On December 11, 1846, a herd of wild bulls attacked the battalion. Private Frost was standing next to the battalion commander when the bulls charged. Colonel Cooke told the private to run, but Frost remained to defend his commander. In his journal, Abraham Day III (a member of the Mormon Battalion) wrote, "When the bull was a short distance away he [Frost] shot it through the brain and it fell almost at their feet . . . [the] Colonel told Frost he was the bravest man he ever saw."²¹⁰ But despite individual acts of bravery, Cooke still wondered how much he could trust his soldiers. Day recorded in his journal that "while passing through Arizona, Cooke asked Major Cloud if he could rely upon these Mormons in case of an attack. Cloud answered, "'The Battalion will follow where you dare to lead.'"²¹¹

This was not true, however, with Lieutenant Smith. The historian Bernard DeVoto cynically claims that there is no tangible evidence that Lieutenant A.J. Smith was not a good leader and that Smith did the best he could in a difficult situation. DeVoto also accuses the Mormon soldiers of employing "Israel's talent for insubordination" against him and any officer who supported his decisions.²¹² Fleek, a retired military historian (and also a Mormon), tends to agree that some of the tales of Lieutenant Smith's cruelty have been exaggerated. He argues that the lieutenant's actions were customary for the times. Fleek contends that the main problem was that Lieutenant Smith did not meet the Mormons' expectations of the benevolent Christian gentlemen, and that his leadership style (hardened by the frontier) was different than that of both Allen and

²⁰⁹ Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854*, 69, 147, 225, 227 and Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 9.

²¹⁰ Abraham Day III Journal, 18.

²¹¹ Ibid., 27.

²¹² Bernard DeVoto, *The Year of Decision: 1846* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown & Co., 1962), 324.

Cooke.²¹³ But the mere fact that he could have acted like the two official commanders of the battalion (who were also battle-hardened frontier soldiers), but chose not to, deflates this argument. It is also likely (and probable since numerous sources recount the same statements and actions) that the Mormon soldiers' hostility was justifiable. Smith, after being replaced as the temporary battalion commander, continued to demonstrate embittered feelings toward the battalion soldiers for their insubordination when he was in command and the fact that they voted against him to become the battalion quartermaster²¹⁴ (although he was appointed the position anyway) when Lieutenant Colonel Cooke took command in Santa Fe.²¹⁵

It was during the notorious reign of Lieutenant Smith that the majority of officer abuses occurred. Although nobody was shot or stabbed, as had occurred with foreign-born Catholic soldiers, Mormon soldiers still suffered from abusive punishments for sometimes inconsequential offenses. For example, officers tied soldiers behind wagons and forced them to travel all day with their packs on their backs if they failed to stand when the officer of the day approached the guard quarters.²¹⁶ On November 21, 1846, Nathaniel Jones wrote in his journal that one man "was tied to a wagon wheel six hours in the night for purchasing a piece of pork from a Negro servant belonging to Lt. A.J. Smith."²¹⁷ Meanwhile, Lieutenant Smith threatened to cut the throat of any soldier who

²¹³ "During an era when branding, flogging (on rare occasions), and summary executions were still practiced, Smith's methods and discipline were no harsher than that of his peers." Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 34.

²¹⁴ Many soldiers expressed disappointment when Lieutenant Smith remained with the battalion, after Lieutenant Colonel Cooke assumed command, and replaced Lieutenant Gully as battalion quartermaster. Lieutenant Gully, the quartermaster appointed by Lieutenant Colonel Allen, resigned his commission in protest and returned to the camp of Saints in Iowa. William Hyde Journal, October 9, 1846, 27.

²¹⁵ John Steele Diary, October 12, 1846, typescript, 13, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

²¹⁶ William Hyde Journal, November 3, 1846, 29.

²¹⁷ Alter, "The Journal of Nathaniel V. Jones, with the Mormon Battalion," 7.

disobeyed his orders and Dr. Sanderson physically threw soldiers out of sick wagons unless they took his medicinal doses of calomel and arsenic and he deemed their condition sufficient to warrant a ride. Smith also threatened sergeants with reduction in rank if they did not uphold his orders and report soldiers who refused to report to sick call or missed guard duty.²¹⁸

When John D. Lee²¹⁹ and Howard Egan (who were not members of the battalion, but representatives from the Mormon Church and Brigham Young) joined the Mormon Battalion en route to Santa Fe, soldiers quickly informed the religious leaders of their mistreatment. Some of their arguments had merit; Smith demonstrated inexperience and arrogance as a leader through his forced marches and blatant threats to soldiers and unquestionable favoritism towards the battalion surgeon.²²⁰ Lee attempted to take Lieutenant Smith to task and openly warned him of a pending mutiny. According to one historian, Lee even threatened to cut their (Lieutenant Smith's and Dr. Sanderson's) throats if they did not "cease to oppress the brethren."²²¹ But Captains Hunt and Hunter (Mormon officers) defended Smith's authority (not his actions), informing Lee that they alone had the right to council him, and that they would order Lee and Egan placed under guard if they did not cease counseling mutiny.²²² In response, Lee (assisted by James Pace, Levi Hancock, Andrew Lytle, and William Hyde) attempted to replace Captain Hunt with Lieutenant Gully, but Lee failed to gain enough support to carry out the plan.

²¹⁸ Abraham Day III Journal, 12; William Hyde Journal, September 3, 1846, 24-25; and Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 57.

²¹⁹ John D. Lee was later found guilty of participating in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, in which Mormons murdered many Missouri pioneers and prompted federal intervention and persecution against the Mormons.

²²⁰ Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 56.

²²¹ There is a discrepancy about the end result of the conversation; according to Ricketts, Smith just walked away after listening to the threats (Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 56), but DeVoto claims that the lieutenant was forced to "sit and to take it" (DeVoto, *The Year of Decision*, 326-327).

²²² Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 57; DeVoto, *The Year of Decision*, 326-327.

These two Mormon commanders later again ran interference (between the soldiers and regular army staff) and prevented a mutiny when soldiers refused to obey the requirement to consume Dr. Sanderson's medications.²²³

After arriving in Santa Fe, things noticeably improved. Lieutenant Colonel Cooke believed in assigning punishments that fit the offense. For instance, when guards lost animals, their punishment was to recover them and catch up with the battalion on the march.²²⁴ Colonel Cooke established strict standards. On December 4, 1846, Cooke declared that the Adjutant would no longer receive soldiers for guard duty unless they wore their knapsacks and that the soldiers could not ride, even if they owned horses.²²⁵ When soldiers purchased and started using horses without his authorization (April 23, 1847), he ordered the soldiers to return to base, dismount, and then sent them to their assigned duty location on foot;²²⁶ Cooke then ordered the horses sold to the highest bidder.²²⁷ Unlike many officers of his time, Cooke also believed in enforcing rules from top to bottom; he punished officers for the same infraction as enlisted soldiers.²²⁸

Even after Cooke assumed command, some soldiers still complained of leaders making frivolous charges against them. Private John Borrowman was held nearly three weeks without trial for falling asleep while on guard duty. During his time incarcerated, he wrote in his journal of other soldiers held on what he considered frivolous charges.²²⁹

²²³ "It took all of Jefferson's [Captain Hunt's] patience and wisdom to keep the men from mutiny against Lieutenant Smith and Dr. Sanderson." Smith, *Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion*, 74.

²²⁴ Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854*, 71, 81, 93, 136-137, 148, 151, 188.

²²⁵ William Coray (a member of the Mormon Battalion) claimed this order was extreme tyranny. SGT William Coray, as cited in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 156.

²²⁶ The Mormon Battalion was not a Dragoon unit, but an Infantry Battalion; soldiers were not authorized horses to perform assigned duties.

²²⁷ Alter, "The Journal of Nathaniel V. Jones, with the Mormon Battalion," 15.

²²⁸ Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 177.

²²⁹ Journal of John Borrowman, February 7-26, 1847, typescript, p. 3-8. Church Historical Department, Salt Lake City, UT.

When he was finally charged for his dereliction, Borrowman claimed that sickness and starvation from travelling so long on half rations caused his momentary weakness. In the end, Colonel Cooke disapproved his final punishment and released him without any punitive action.

On one occasion, in a moment of compassion, Cooke sacrificed a small portion of his fighting force and allowed husbands to accompany their wives to Pueblo when the battalion split, before leaving Santa Fe for California. At first, he was against the idea of allowing healthy soldiers to accompany the women and sick to Pueblo. He stated that his soldiers' situation was no different than his and that he had left his wife and family behind. However, Privates John Hess and John Steele convinced him of the contrary when they reminded him that the detachment was going into enemy territory with only sick and demoralized soldiers to watch them.²³⁰ It is very unlikely that foreign-born soldiers in the regular army would have ever received such an act of mercy from their harsh and controlling leaders. However, the result of Lieutenant Smith's actions is apparent in the decidedly negative approach members of the Pueblo Detachment felt toward the government and their service. Having never really served under Lieutenant Colonel Cooke, and having forgotten the kind treatment from Lieutenant Colonel Allen, the detachment soldiers remembered the harsh treatment they had received from Lieutenant Smith, which was comparable to the persecution they had received prior to the war. Although they did not mutiny, soldiers adopted John Steele's view when he said on April 9, 1847 that, "Our Boys are all well and h[e]arty. More than fifty of them has got Horses and calculate to serve Uncal Sam no longer than the[y] can help."²³¹

²³⁰ Alter, "John W. Hess, with the Mormon Battalion," 50-51.

²³¹ John Steele, as quoted in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 320.

Religious Persecution

Like the foreign-born Catholic soldiers in the regular army, Mormons did not have an official chaplain to represent and officiate in their denominational beliefs. They did, however, have a number of Mormon leaders, known as Seventies,²³² who were members of the battalion and assisted in daily prayerful worship and Sunday services. Although the Mormon soldiers suffered massive religious persecution from nativists in New York, Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri prior to the war, because the Church supported the conflict and the battalion spent most of its time isolated from other army units, the non-Mormon officers generally allowed the Saints to freely practice their religion (even if they discounted their belief in prayerful healing of the sick). It is key to note that none of the journals or other literary sources indicate that their officers ever forced the Mormon soldiers to attend other Protestant services.

Their faith, which centered on the teachings of the prophet, Joseph Smith, and the lessons from the *Book of Mormon*, unified the Mormon Battalion soldiers into a tight, supportive community.²³³ Many of the soldiers had already demonstrated their dedication to their faith by leaving their ancestral families to migrate westward and establish a new Zion. Henry Green Boyle, a native Virginian, described how he was driven from his parental roof upon accepting the call of what he considered the everlasting gospel.²³⁴ Meanwhile, John Borrowman, a British/Canadian immigrant,

²³² “The Seventies, consisting of Area Presidencies, are other LDS Church leaders that help the Twelve Apostles with their duties. They serve in different locations throughout the world whereas stake presidents, bishops, and branch presidents serve in the local communities where they live.” Rachel Woods, “Organization of the LDS Church,” About.com, http://lds.about.com/od/organizationsauxiliaries/p/church_leaders.htm (accessed September 29, 2008).

²³³ According to Anderson, religious communities require spoken language and written script to become unified. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 12-14, 22-26.

²³⁴ He justified his actions by stating, “I love the people I am associated with and the principles of the Gospel better than all else and my heart leapt for joy when I contemplated the situation I found myself in,

rejected his father's vast inheritance to follow the convictions of his conscience.²³⁵ Thus it was that when religious leaders supported the government's request for volunteers, recruits began to sign-up. According to Fleek, Mormon volunteers enlisted out of religious obedience, whereas most Americans joined for reasons of patriotism, self-interest, desire for adventure, or simple boredom.²³⁶ Church leaders used religious services to encourage men to enlist.²³⁷ Some, like James S. Brown, expressed surprise at both the government's demand and the Church's endorsement for raising Mormon volunteers;²³⁸ however, many, like Zadock K. Judd, followed their faith and enlisted anyway in the Mormon Battalion.²³⁹ Church leaders promised to care for the soldiers' families while they were away and promised that their valuable service would fund the Saints' migration to their new home.

Unlike Catholic soldiers, Mormons ardently supported the concept of "Manifest Destiny." Many soldiers saw the war as fulfillment of Joseph Smith's prophesy that the Saints would find safety in their "Promised Land" within the mountain tops.²⁴⁰ Because

compared with what it [had]... been." Henry Green Boyle Autobiography, original journal entries, December, 1846, 25, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

²³⁵ Borrowman's father promised that "if you will forget this foolish religion you talk about all this land you see will be yours, if you insist and join this church I will cut you off without as much as a shilling." Agnes Dolores Brown Cannon, *History of John Barrowman* (Salt Lake City, UT: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1957), 1.

²³⁶ Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 27-28.

²³⁷ John F. Yurtinus, "Here is One Man Who Will Not Go, Dam'um: Recruiting the Mormon Battalion in Iowa Territory," *BYU Studies* 21 (Fall 1981): 482.

²³⁸ Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 1-2.

²³⁹ Judd explained that "This was quite a hard pill to swallow – to leave wives and children on the wild prairies, destitute and almost helpless, having nothing to rely on only the kindness of neighbors, and go to fight the battles of a government that had allowed some of its citizens to drive us from our homes, but word comes from the right source and seemed to bring the spirit of conviction of its truth with it and there was quite a number of our company volunteered, myself and brother among them." Ester Brown Judd and Elvira N. Judd, as quoted in Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 6.

²⁴⁰ LTC Max W. Jamison, "Mormon Battalion Visitors Center: Manifest Destiny, Heritage, & Legacy," *The Valiant*, Heritage Day Special Edition, June 14, 2008. www.mormonbattalion.com.

they did not share a commonality of faith with the Mexican people, they adopted the nativists' position that it was God's will that the land be controlled by the U.S.

Although many Mormon historians stress the religious aspect of Mormon enlistment and patriotic service, and they are accurate that without Brigham Young's support, Captain Allen would have left the Mormon encampments without a battalion of recruits, the Mormon leaders and soldiers demonstrated a subtle shift in loyalties as they continued in service to the U.S. government. When Lieutenant Colonel Allen died, with the exception of Lieutenant Samuel Gully (who immediately sent a letter to the LDS leadership), the Mormon officers requested guidance from the President of the U.S. This demonstration of primary allegiance to the President upset Church leaders.²⁴¹

Brigham Young, in replying to Gully, declared that no other regular army commander should lead the unit and he asked the brethren to not allow anyone but Captain Jefferson Hunt (Mormon commander of Company A) to command them.²⁴² When Gully rejoined the unit and found Lieutenant Smith in command, he declared that, "Mr. Smith seems to be inclined to assume some authority over us, if he should, it will only be temporary, as we shall act wisely, considering our situation for the future."²⁴³ However, the Mormon soldiers chose not to heed the call of religious leaders in this instance or in two other situations involving John D. Lee²⁴⁴ and, later, Brigham Young²⁴⁵ when they counseled mutiny against the federal government.

²⁴¹ Goldner, *The March of the Mormon Battalion*, 153.

²⁴² Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 155-156.

²⁴³ Goldner, *The March of the Mormon Battalion*, 151.

²⁴⁴ John D. Lee and Howard Egan, who traveled for a short time with the battalion, counseled mutiny in response to the harsh treatment they received from Smith and Dr. Sanderson. Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 57; DeVoto, *The Year of Decision*, 326-327.

²⁴⁵ After the Pueblo Detachment had successfully passed the winter, the commander of the detachment desired to know whither he should take his soldiers. Brigham Young stated that the brethren had "accomplished their designs in getting the Battalion to Mexico but that the brethren at Pueblo must not

Many of the soldiers also chose to disregard what they believed was the counsel of the Church regarding their migration to Utah following their enlistment. When the Mormon Battalion's year of enlistment neared its completion, General Kearny, Colonel Stevenson, and Lieutenant Colonel Cooke all tried to encourage the soldiers to reenlist. They offered incentives to the soldiers, along with promises of preferential treatment for the Saints settling in northern California.²⁴⁶ Lieutenant James Pace claimed that Colonel Stevenson's speech "was good & nothing but good reason offered altho[ugh] it did not sute [suit] the Battalion to reenlist."²⁴⁷ Thomas Dunn, a soldier stationed at San Diego, wrote that on Sunday, July 4, 1847:

Mr. McGil, a much respected citizen of the place, who received a part in the salutes, expressed his great desire for us to remain in the service and garrison this place, as we had been solicited by the Col. [Stevenson]. But under the circumstances we could not feel the liberty to do it, in as much as we considered ourselves having to heed the counsel of the Church. Yet there were some who expressed a strong determination to do so. Even Capt. Hunter, Lieutenant Barrow [Barrus] and Cliff [Clift], regardless of the Council of the Twelve.²⁴⁸

Receiving pressure from their commanding officers, the Mormon officers called a meeting to urge reenlistment.²⁴⁹ David Pettigrew, who headed the opposition, explained that "the meeting was held in the wall-tent and all had the liberty to speak. Captain Hunt said, 'Now is the time you complainers crack your whips.' Many spoke in turn and there

follow Brown to Mexico, but go to California. If the officers will not do right, he instructed Amasa to call out the men & choose officers who would do right. If the Battalion are at Santa Fe these brethren [are] to go there & bring the Battalion on also & if the Pueblo Command is gone there to pursue them and bring them back, and if General Kearny is there & objects to their returning, according to our agreement, tell him we are bound for California, and throw all the Gentile officers out of the Battalion when you come up to it." Will Bagley, *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints: The 1846 and 1847 Mormon Trail Journals of Thomas Bullock* (Spokane, Washington: Arthur H. Clarke Company, 1997), 178-179.

²⁴⁶ The offer of reenlistment included a warrant for each soldier upon discharge to receive 160 acres of land. William T. Sherman, as cited in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 386.

²⁴⁷ James Pace, as quoted in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 215.

²⁴⁸ Thomas Dunn, *ibid.*, 223-224.

²⁴⁹ James Pace, as cited in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 215.

were two spirits manifest, as different as mid-day from Midnight.”²⁵⁰ William Hyde, who also opposed reenlistment, stated that only the eyes of those who wanted to see wisdom were opened by his speech.²⁵¹ The battalion split²⁵² over the issue of reenlistment, with many favoring both sides.²⁵³ Although some of the officers supported the idea (Jefferson Hunt even sent a letter to Brigham Young which included the numerous incentives and asking for his guidance²⁵⁴), the majority of the soldiers desired to return to their families.

Enough soldiers to fill one company decided to remain in California and reenlist for another six months.²⁵⁵ Other soldiers and officers also decided to remain behind in California to find employment, rather than migrate immediately to the Salt Lake Basin.²⁵⁶ Dispelling the myth perpetrated by some Mormon historians, all these soldiers chose to remain in California with the understanding that this action was contrary to the will of the Church, and prior to their receipt of the epistle from Brigham Young, dated August 7, 1847, which stated, “If there are any men have not families among your number who desire to stop in California for a season, we do not feel to object.”²⁵⁷ The church records for nearly 45 percent of those who reenlisted either ended after reenlistment, or showed

²⁵⁰ David Pettigrew, as quoted in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 263-264.

²⁵¹ William Hyde presented a negative view of the situation when he wrote, “We had already served our enemies one year and offered our lives as a sacrifice to save the people of God, according to the council which we had received from those that had a right to council, and we had faithfully fulfilled the requirement.” He along with David Pettigrew and Daniel Tyler spoke out strongly denouncing the idea. Hyde reasoned that since their service satisfied both the Church and the federal government, he was going to return to his family. William Hyde Journal, June 29, 1847, 44.

²⁵² Sergeant Major James Ferguson sided with the officers in the controversy over enlisting for another year’s service; following his discharge, he chose to remain in California for a time and was part of the gold rush. After he married his first wife, he finally migrated to Utah. Bagley, *A Bright, Rising Star*, 12-13.

²⁵³ Goldner, *The March of the Mormon Battalion*, 230-233.

²⁵⁴ Smith, *Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion*, 115-116.

²⁵⁵ The Mormon Volunteer Company included all the reenlisted soldiers from throughout the battalion.

²⁵⁶ Captain Hunter remained in California and entered federal service as Indian Agent. Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 267.

²⁵⁷ Brigham Young, as quoted in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 356 and Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 315.

that they decided to remain in California rather than migrate to Salt Lake City (or any of the other Mormon settlements).²⁵⁸ After eight additional months of enlistment, the Mormon Volunteer Company in San Diego was discharged, but only 25 of the 82²⁵⁹ started for Salt Lake Valley.²⁶⁰

Ethnicity

Although the federal government was indifferent to Mormon persecution, Joseph Smith maintained that the U.S. Constitution was divinely inspired; he supported “manifest destiny” and remained obedient to the directives of the government’s representatives²⁶¹ (for example, he obeyed the governor of Illinois’ request to disarm the Nauvoo Legion). He also continued to preach that the United States offered favorable conditions to establish God’s kingdom on earth.²⁶² Brigham Young later reconfirmed these beliefs while recruiting Saints for the Mormon Battalion.²⁶³

Members of the LDS Church saw themselves as both Americans and Mormons (both a religious and an ethnic designation) and they desired both autonomy and to

²⁵⁸ The two soldiers who died in 1847 (CPL Frost and PVT Donald) are not included in this percentage since they did not have an opportunity to demonstrate their devotion following their second enlistments. See Appendix A.

²⁵⁹ Historians disagree over the exact number of soldiers that reenlisted and who they were: Sergeant Tyler identifies 81, Ricketts identifies 82, whereas the demographical information of Carl Larson and Susan Easton identify 76. Susan Ward Easton, *Members of the Mormon Battalion: A Sesquicentennial Remembrance* (No place: privately printed, 1981); Larson, *Database of the Mormon Battalion*; Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 265-266; and Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 326-327.

²⁶⁰ Appendix A and Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 331.

²⁶¹ The Latter-day Saints’ Twelfth Article of Faith declares that Mormons believe “in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying and honoring, and sustaining the law.” Joseph Smith, The Articles of Faith of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, as quoted in *The Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City, UT: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1994), 61.

²⁶² Joseph Smith as quoted in The Doctrine and Covenants 98: 4-10; Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 54-55.

²⁶³ Journal History, July 18, 1846 as cited in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 53; Journal History, July 1, 1846 as cited in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 46.

belong to the United States. Although they hated the local governments that persecuted them, the Mormons still loved the nation.²⁶⁴ Brigham Young proclaimed that “The United States want our friendship, the President wants to do us good and secure our confidence.”²⁶⁵

The President now offered to assist the Saints in migrating to a new land where they would be the first settlers. As the first settlers, they could establish the norms for the community and ensure outsiders would not have a pretext to again attack the Saints. Brigham Young believed that the land would shortly be under the control of the United States and he feared marginalization or exclusion of the Mormon society within Polk’s emerging nationally-imagined community.²⁶⁶ Wishing to join the nation in its expansion across the western continent, Brigham Young committed the Saints’ loyalty to the United States government.²⁶⁷ In an enlistment speech, Brigham Young tried to reach out to each man’s sense of national allegiance by stating, “If we want the privilege of going where we can worship God according to the dictates of our conscience, we must raise the Battalion.”²⁶⁸

Unlike the predominantly²⁶⁹ foreign-born American soldiers who formed the nucleus of the San Patricio Battalion, 83 percent of the soldiers who enlisted in the Mormon Battalion were native-born; this 83 percent came from the smaller native-born

²⁶⁴ The Mormon reaction to the federal government epitomizes Adelman’s “duality” of allegiance concept. In *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*, Adelman explains that Latin Americans did not view revolutionary conflicts as a struggle between nation and empire. In fact, the dualism “made little sense for those whose loyalties did not break down into either or. They could feel at home imagining themselves simultaneously as Spaniards, Spanish Americans, and citizens of Caracas . . . [and] insurgents often vowed to kill ‘corrupt’ officials even though they were simply carrying out ministerial orders, while proclaiming their undying loyalty to the king.” Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*, 9, 52.

²⁶⁵ Brigham Young, as quoted in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 48.

²⁶⁶ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 101.

²⁶⁷ Brigham Young, as cited in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 45, 48 and Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 70.

²⁶⁸ Yurtinus, “Here is One Man Who Will Not Go, Dam’um,” 483.

²⁶⁹ 79 percent.

78 percent of the Mormon population.²⁷⁰ This suggests that native-born American citizens were more receptive to Brigham Young's call to serve and demonstrate national patriotism. Before converting to the Mormon faith, Henry Boyle desired "to live and die among my kindred and the land of our nativity."²⁷¹ Some of the soldiers were brought up in patriotic families where their fathers and grandfathers had served in the Revolutionary War and/or the War of 1812.²⁷² There were also among the Mormon Battalion soldiers veterans who had personally served in the army during the Blackhawk War.²⁷³ This supports Brigham Young's comment in his April 30, 1845 letter to Governor Thomas S. Drew that "Our father's, nay some of us, have fought and bled for our country, and we love her Constitution dearly."²⁷⁴

Out of love for one's country, some parents encouraged their children to enlist in the Mormon Battalion.²⁷⁵ Children born during patriotic times are sometimes named after key political leaders. There are at least 18 soldiers in the Mormon Battalion who bear patriotic names: Andrew Jackson, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, and even a Miles Standish.²⁷⁶ Like Jefferson Hunt, these

²⁷⁰ See Appendix B.

²⁷¹ Henry Green Boyle Autobiography, December, 1846, 25.

²⁷² Lieutenant James Pace's father died in 1814 in a skirmish that preceded the Battle of New Orleans, David Pettegrew's father served under George Washington, and Captain Jefferson Hunt's father, John Hunt, was a Revolutionary War colonial soldier who served under General Morgan at the Battle of Cowpens. Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 192; Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 346; and Smith, *Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion*, 1-3.

²⁷³ Milton Kelley and Daniel Tyler. Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 195, 229.

²⁷⁴ In this letter, Brigham Young requested asylum for the Mormon refugees in Arkansas. Goldner, *The March of the Mormon Battalion*, 43.

²⁷⁵ Sergeant Major James Ferguson told the following story of Joseph Richards and his mother: A mother had five sons, one murdered in Missouri, two serving missions in foreign lands, one too young and still needing comfort and care, the last was her protector and provider. "Even in her aged heart, withered and broken as it was, the love of country burned deep and strong. She yielded up her son and never saw him more." Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 173.

²⁷⁶ See Appendix A. There are additional people (named George, James, Thomas, etc.) that are not counted since it is unknown whether their naming was for patriot reasons.

men were active in their local politics and many were members of the Nauvoo Legion. When Brigham Young and Captain Allen gave the call to serve, Jefferson Hunt was one of the first to enlist;²⁷⁷ According to Pauline Smith, daughter of Captain Hunt, “Despite the experiences of persecution in Missouri and Illinois, he accepted this challenge to serve his country at any cost.”²⁷⁸

Mormon soldiers identified themselves as Americans through their actions. They actively participated in Independence Day celebrations;²⁷⁹ Levi Hancock even wrote and sang a patriotic song after the soldiers listened to a recital of the Declaration of Independence.²⁸⁰ They celebrated General Taylor’s²⁸¹ and General Kearny’s victories (comparing their suffering with the trials experienced by the Mormon Battalion),²⁸² and fired a 21 gun salute when Kearney visited them at Los Angeles.²⁸³ Upon hearing the rumor that Mexican troops were en route to retake California, many soldiers (like Robert Bliss) declared that “. . . if they do they will have to fight hard for our Guns are loaded ready to apply the match any moment.”²⁸⁴ The Mormon Battalion was a homogenous Mormon-American unit; unlike the ethnically diverse regular army units that foreign-born Irish and German regular army soldiers had to deal with, soldiers in the Mormon Battalion did not receive preferential treatment in their punishments because of their

²⁷⁷ Smith, *Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion*, 56.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 57.

²⁷⁹ According to H.H. Bancroft, even after their discharge from the Army, the former Mormon Battalion soldiers continued to demonstrate their national pride by using two brass canons to thunder independence through the high Sierras on the 4th of July, after leaving Sutter’s Fort. Roberts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 71.

²⁸⁰ James Pace, as cited in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 215 and Goldner, *The March of the Mormon Battalion*, 233.

²⁸¹ Robert Bliss declared in his journal that Monday, June 14, “was a day of rejoicing to us at the News of Gen. Taylor’s Victory over 18,000 Spaniards with thunder of our Cannon from the Fort & Town below . . . the Catholic Church had less Glass than usual when we ceased firing; the Ceremony was concluded at Sun down by firing the Guns & lowering the Flags; with 3 Cheers.” Alter, “Journal of Robert S. Bliss, with the Mormon Battalion,” 95.

²⁸² Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 256-262.

²⁸³ Ibid., 282.

²⁸⁴ Alter, “Journal of Robert S. Bliss, with the Mormon Battalion,” 92.

ethnicity.²⁸⁵ They did, however, still contend with racial slurs and nativist discrimination from Missouri volunteer units and soldiers (including Dr. Sanderson).

Before reaching Fort Leavenworth, the Mormon Battalion encountered its first incident of discrimination when a Missourian refused to issue flour to the unit's supply sergeant. Lieutenant Colonel Allen did not allow others to discriminate against his Mormon soldiers; to rectify the situation, he ordered the Missourian to deliver the flour to the Mormon upon pain of being put under guard.²⁸⁶ Following Colonel Allen's death, one of the major reasons Captain Jefferson Hunt relinquished command to Lieutenant A.J. Smith was to gain a regular army officer²⁸⁷ and prevent Colonel Sterling Price from succeeding in his attempt to annex the battalion to the Missouri Regiment. Given their past relationship, and the fact that many of the volunteers in Price's Regiment were mobocrats who had persecuted the Saints in Missouri, Hunt took any alternative to prevent that disastrous event.²⁸⁸ Although the decision was not popular with Brigham Young, who wanted Mormon officers to command the battalion after Allen's untimely death,²⁸⁹ regular army officers added a level of protection for the Mormon Battalion from other volunteer units and also taught them how to interact better with regular army units.

²⁸⁵ There were seventeen volunteer companies which were predominantly Irish-American; most of the soldiers within these units remained loyal and discrimination within them was minimal. Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 174.

²⁸⁶ Abraham Day III Journal, 8-9 and Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 132.

²⁸⁷ Upon the arrival of Lieutenant Smith, Captain Hunt relinquished command because he had neither commission nor certificates to authenticate his rank in dealing with other army units; he also lacked the knowledge to correctly fill out and submit necessary documents, specifically pay rolls. "Supplies, requisitions, tables of organization and manpower, order of battle, ranks and responsibilities, and the Articles of War (the laws that govern soldiers while in active service) were all from the regular establishment. Though it was a unique religious organization, its standards were set by commanders who were all from the regular army and not Mormons." Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 85-86.

²⁸⁸ Jefferson Hunt and Jesse D. Hunter, as cited in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 99-101.

²⁸⁹ Brigham Young, *ibid.*, 97.

When the Mormon Battalion arrived in California, members of the Missouri volunteers under Colonel John C. Fremont repeatedly threatened to attack the Mormon camps and wipe them out of existence.²⁹⁰ Although they were never foolish enough to try and carry out their threat, some of the more belligerent members of their unit regularly started quarrels with the Mormon soldiers. Because of their faithful service, with relatively few incidents of insubordination and destruction (other militias treated the native Californians very roughly), many of the regular army officers and soldiers grew to respect the Mormon volunteer soldiers. The regular soldiers who worked with the Mormon Battalion, Kearny's Dragoons, readily sprang to the defense of the Mormon soldiers when verbally attacked by Fremont's Missouri volunteers.²⁹¹ When any of Fremont's men came around and offered insults to the Mormons, Day claimed the dragoons would say, "Stand back, you are religious men, and we are not; we will take all of your fights into our hands. You shall not be imposed upon by them."²⁹²

Besides winning over the support of their fellow soldiers, the Mormon soldiers successfully dealt with false rumors and perceptions perpetrated by their Missouri rivals. First, while they marched to Fort Leavenworth, the Mormon Battalion impressed many Missouri residents with their show of patriotism toward a government that had shown them little protection.²⁹³ Later, after arriving in California, the Mormon soldiers demonstrated kindness and fairness toward the native California populous to dispel the

²⁹⁰ Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 276.

²⁹¹ Smith, *Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion*, 113.

²⁹² Abraham Day III Journal, 29.

²⁹³ Some Missourians even expressed feelings of regret for their past actions and declared that they wished a return of their Mormon neighbors. William Hyde Journal, July 29, 1846, 19-20 and Henry Green Boyle Autobiography, July 20, 1847, 38.

Missouri volunteer rumors that “the Mormons were cannibals, and especially fond of eating children.”²⁹⁴

Poor Living Conditions, Hard Military Work Conditions, Drunkenness, Seduction, and Impressment

When the Mormon soldiers first arrived in California, their wild and destitute appearance might have given some erroneous credence to the slanderous Missouri rumor. The Mormon soldiers arrived in California almost naked. The endless marching left most of the men barefoot, and many of the soldiers had traded their clothing for food.²⁹⁵ Living conditions for the Mormon soldiers were oppressive, both after they arrived in California and especially during their over 2,000-mile march from Fort Leavenworth to Los Angeles. While the foreign-born regular soldiers (discussed in the previous chapter) complained of rodents and insects within their tents, most of the Mormon soldiers lacked even a tent to sleep in when they arrived in California.²⁹⁶ As the Mormon Battalion continued across the mountains, soldiers subsisted on fewer and fewer provisions; meanwhile, because wagons broke down and their bodies grew weaker, soldiers left behind equipment (including objects of personal value) daily. Robert Bliss (a member of the Mormon Battalion) claimed “it is all some men can do to get into camp at night although we are favored remarkable with health in the Army we have been preserved in that way that all must acknowledge the hand of God in it.”²⁹⁷

Besides the 2,000-mile march, the Mormon soldiers dug wells and blazed a wagon trail that would open the West up to the rest of the nation. Trailblazing through

²⁹⁴ Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 276.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 245, 264-265.

²⁹⁶ Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854*, 94-95, 97, 111, 191.

²⁹⁷ Alter, “Journal of Robert S. Bliss, with the Mormon Battalion,” 83.

rough, mountainous terrain required intense manual labor.²⁹⁸ Demonstrating solidarity with his soldiers, Lieutenant Colonel Cooke used an axe to help clear a wagon passage²⁹⁹ and joined with his soldiers in physically moving the wagons through an especially difficult rocky ridge.³⁰⁰ The soldiers suffered significantly crossing the desert and mountainous regions, but none died thanks to the prudence of Colonel Cooke.³⁰¹

The Mormon soldiers' fortitude constantly amazed Colonel Cooke. In his journal he wrote that "Notwithstanding their fatigues a number of men walked back two miles for their chance of getting water where I first stopped! They are almost barefoot, carry their muskets, knapsacks, etc., and do not grumble."³⁰² Levi Hancock also noted that the soldiers would march 20 miles with "not a word of complaint from any man."³⁰³ Even when the unit was placed on half rations and expected a hard travel ahead, Bliss claimed:

We are cheerful & happy notwithstanding we have to carry our Guns[,] accoutrements[,] Napsacks[,] Canteens[,] haversacks[,] & Push our Wagons all day over hills which are not few nor far between & we expect still greater difficulties when we leave this River to cross the Mountains.³⁰⁴

Once the battalion arrived in California, it had the opportunity to partake in the same activities that foreign-born Catholic soldiers had been performing since the outset of the war: building fortification and practicing drill. Mormon soldier comments about drill and more drill are reminiscent to those used by all soldiers.³⁰⁵ However, in the case

²⁹⁸ Smith, *Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion*, 105.

²⁹⁹ "Setting an example myself [Cooke], there was much labor done on it [the mountain passage] before the wagons came; that is, with axes we pounded, broke, split, and hewed the rocks to increase the opening." Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854*, 222.

³⁰⁰ Abraham Day III Journal, 25.

³⁰¹ Smith, *Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion*, 105.

³⁰² Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854*, 164.

³⁰³ Levi Hancock, as quoted in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 74-75.

³⁰⁴ Alter, "Journal of Robert S. Bliss, with the Mormon Battalion," 76-77.

³⁰⁵ According to Sergeant William Coray, it was "the first time [he] was ever taught to turn around." Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 192.

of the poorly trained Mormon soldiers, the lessons were very important and demonstrated Colonel Cooke's concern for the well-being of his soldiers.³⁰⁶

One way in which soldiers dealt with harsh work environments was through obstinacy. Lieutenant Colonel Cooke described his frustrations in his journal on November 1, 1846:

It took me until half past nine o'clock to make these arrangements, which I had repeatedly ordered eighteen hours before, and then had to do it myself. A dumb spirit has possessed all for the last twenty-four hours, and not one in ten of my orders has been understood and obeyed. All the vexations and troubles of any other three days of my life have not equaled those of the said twenty-four hours. My attention is constantly on the stretch for the smallest things. I have to order and then see that it is done. There is a wonderful amount of solidity, ignorance, negligence, and obstinacy which I have to contend with.³⁰⁷

Foreign-born regular soldiers could have expected some type of disciplinary action for similar behavior – especially since a mistake in drill alone could earn a soldier a slash from a saber.

Another way Mormon soldiers dealt with their miserable situation was to get drunk. Contrary to what many Mormons would like to believe, the Mormon soldiers drowned their sorrows the same as all soldiers did during this time period, through consuming alcohol. From 4th of July celebrations,³⁰⁸ to well-patronized Mexican grocers,³⁰⁹ the soldiers drank everything from wine to whisky. However, thanks to the presence of the Mormon brethren, with the exception of one well-documented drunken

³⁰⁶ Soldiers do not usually understand that a leader who cares about them takes the time to train them; it takes a lot more time and effort to train someone, than to do nothing.

³⁰⁷ Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854*, 83-84.

³⁰⁸ Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 287.

³⁰⁹ Dr. Sanderson enjoyed noting perceived hypocrisies perpetuated by Mormon soldiers in his journal. On October 3, 1846 he claims that Mormons purchased whisky from the traveling Mexican grocery. On September 20, 1846 he discovered two soldiers playing cards; apparently they attempted to disguise the activity to make it appear like they were resting in prayer. Dr. George B. Sanderson Journal, September 20, 1846 and October 3, 1846, typescript, 9-10, 15, Marriott Library, Salt Lake City, UT.

fest after they arrived in California, the Mormon soldiers drank conservatively. In his diary, Lieutenant Pace explained:

In the afternoon the seanery [scenery] of drunkenness was lamentable. The screams & yells of drunken Mormons would of [have] disgraced the wild Indian mutch [sic] moor [sic] a Lat[t]erday Saint. This drunkenness was on the 23 & 24 [March, 1847]. [On] the 25th,] the Battalion was sober & began to act like they began to know themselves.³¹⁰

Even when drinking, because Mormon society tended to be insular, they did not often separate themselves from their brethren. This made them easier to control and less vulnerable targets for Mexicans to capture than foreign-born soldiers who tended to be more individual in their drinking activities. Lieutenant Colonel Cooke never mentions any problems with drunken soldiers; he does, however, lament his habitually drunk and incompetent guides whose information was always questionable.³¹¹

Because of the insular society, and the fact that 42 percent³¹² of the Mormon soldiers were married, they were not very susceptible to being seduced by beautiful young Mexican girls. Whereas the majority of the foreign-born Catholic soldiers who deserted and defected were single (or believed single), the Mormon soldiers had brought over 30 of their wives with them with the intention of taking them to California. The remaining soldiers' wives and extended families that relied on federal aid through soldier pay and government authorization for temporary settling of Indian lands in the Iowa Territory ensured the soldiers' faithful service. According to William Coray, "We durst

³¹⁰ James Pace, as quoted in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 203.

³¹¹ Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854*, 86, 100, 113, 161, 163, 178.

³¹² See Appendix A.

not rebel for fear of after clapps coming on the church.”³¹³ When Colonel Cooke sent the families to winter at Pueblo, he ensured that they received provisions to last the season.³¹⁴

Although all the Mormon soldiers remained faithful to the U.S. government, those who later reenlisted had more in common with the foreign-born Catholic soldiers. To begin with, around 88 percent of those who reenlisted were unmarried. Because they were unmarried, they had less incentive to suffer the hardships of a return trip; they could more easily accept and demonstrate their allegiance to the government which supplied their paychecks. Another important note is the increase in percentage of foreign-born soldiers within the Mormon Battalion, from 18 to 19 percent (including three of the four German-born soldiers – two of whom remained in California) who reenlisted.³¹⁵ During this time period, the army was very successful in luring the immigrant into national service. This service helped create within the immigrant a national identity and offered him opportunities of upward mobility within society.

Poor Treatment for the Sick and Wounded

Both the Mormon and foreign-born Catholic soldiers equally suffered from poor medical treatment during the war. Although the Mormon soldiers did not have to suffer the horrors of the army field hospital, their greatest enemy was their surgeon whom they nicknamed “Dr. Death.” Because of Dr. George Sanderson’s dominant influence, the Assistant Surgeon, Dr. McIntyre (a Mormon botanic physician who was more

³¹³ Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 8.

³¹⁴ Although the Saints took the news poorly (they wanted to have a vote and hold a council), this move probably saved the lives of many women and children since they did not have to participate in the trailblazing march from Santa Fe, New Mexico to California. Smith, *Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion*, 73 and John Steele Diary, October 12, 1846, 12-13.

³¹⁵ See Appendix A.

competent), was restricted from administering to the needs of the soldiers in the battalion. Dr. Sanderson became enraged if soldiers received medicine from anyone but himself. One day, when he caught two soldiers riding in the back of a wagon because they were too sick to walk and discovered they had received medicine from Dr. McIntyre, he became very upset. He brought the issue to the attention of Lieutenant Smith, who, supporting the doctor, stated, “if any man in the battalion did the like again, he would cut his throat.”³¹⁶ Smith also threatened to tie a rope around the neck of any soldier who received their medicine in a like manner and drag them behind a wagon for a day. Meanwhile, Dr. Sanderson cursed prolifically and threatened to “send as many [Mormons] to hell as he could.”³¹⁷ On September 21, 1846, Samuel Rogers, while on guard, overheard a discussion between Lieutenant Smith, Dr. Sanderson, and the adjutant. From the course of their conversation, Rogers understood that the forced marches were devised to make the men sick and force them to take the doctor’s medicine. Rogers believed that “they seemed determined to kill the soldiers.”³¹⁸

In a number of accounts, Dr. Sanderson is blamed for the death of at least one soldier, Private Alva Phelps. The soldier refused to take the surgeon’s medicine, claiming that it was against his religion, but the doctor forced it down his throat anyway and he died shortly after the incident.³¹⁹ This incident almost led to a mutiny. Captain Hunt’s daughter (Pauline Smith) claimed “It took all of Jefferson’s [Captain Hunt’s] patience and wisdom to keep the men from mutiny against Lieutenant Smith and Dr.

³¹⁶ Abraham Day III Journal, 12; William Hyde Journal, September 3, 1846, 24-25.

³¹⁷ William Hyde Journal, September 3, 1846, 24-25.

³¹⁸ Samuel Rogers, as quoted in Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 57.

³¹⁹ Jefferson Hunt and Jesse D. Hunter, as cited in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 99-101; Winders, *Mr. Polk’s Army*, 154; and Larson, *Database of the Mormon Battalion*, 189.

Sanderson.”³²⁰ Dr. Sanderson covers the incident a little differently in his journal: “We had one man died who obstinately refused to take medicine until too late. He died of Congestion Fever. A great deal of obstinacy and superstition prevails among the Mormons about Medicine. They believe or pretend to believe in the efficacy of prayers &c.”³²¹

The one order that the Mormon soldiers refused to obey was the requirement to consume Dr. Sanderson’s medications. Abraham Day III explained that the sick would throw away the doctor’s powders rather than consume them and that when Dr. Sanderson discovered this he forced the sick to “take their medicine out of his old black spoon in his presence.”³²² When Benjamin Roberts became ill, Dr. Sanderson prescribed the usual calomel, which Roberts wisely mostly spat out of his mouth after he passed the doctor’s tent. But his condition worsened and eventually, after losing more weight, he “could span his leg with his finger and thumb and slide them all the way up his leg.”³²³

William Hyde best expressed the general feeling of the soldiers when he said, “My health had now been very poor for several days, but I still performed my daily task without complaining. The idea of my coming under the care of our surgeon was out of the question. Consequently I toiled on, sick or well.”³²⁴ Like the foreign-born Catholic soldiers in the east, some turned to self-treatments, besides prayer. Healthy soldiers sometimes stood guard duty for the sick, allowing them to hide their poor health from the

³²⁰ Smith, *Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion*, 74.

³²¹ Dr. George B. Sanderson Journal, September 19, 1846, 9.

³²² Abraham Day III Journal, 12.

³²³ Benjamin Morgan Roberts Documents and News Clippings, typescript, 2, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT.

³²⁴ William Hyde Journal, January 12, 1847, 38.

surgeon.³²⁵ When Lieutenant Smith discovered this, he angrily threatened to put the sergeants in irons if they continued to write false reports. Because tensions continued to escalate, the Mormon officers held a secret meeting and unanimously decided to adhere to the Mormon Church's council and not take the medicine (thus refusing to follow a direct order).³²⁶

Conditions improved once Lieutenant Colonel Cooke assumed command of the battalion. He was a wise leader who understood that the soldiers and animals were becoming sick from fatigue, lack of food, and exposure to the elements. Although he maintained Dr. Sanderson on his staff, Cooke looked for ideas to improve the condition of his soldiers. He also recognized the peril sick soldiers faced in trying to travel from Santa Fe to Los Angeles, while trailblazing routes for future migration. Cooke, therefore, sent three installments of sick soldiers to winter, and get healthy, in Pueblo. This demonstration of mercy was more than most foreign-born regular soldiers could have dared to hope for, especially since officers generally visited the sick tents to take soldiers back to work.

Lack of Food and Water

According to many of the historical records, the soldiers' illnesses were caused by exhaustion, malnutrition, and dehydration. Exhaustion, especially for the infantry during a time of war when they are expected to march great distances, is to be expected.

³²⁵ On December 10, 1846 Lieutenant Pace allowed a friend to stand guard for Henry Standage because he was sick; this happened without informing Dr. Sanderson of the soldier's sick status. Goldner, *The March of the Mormon Battalion*, 192.

³²⁶ On August 19, 1846, Brigham Young sent a letter to the Mormon Battalion officers instructing them not to take Dr. Sanderson's medicine. Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 57 and Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 146.

Rations, on the other hand, should be plentiful to provide energy and endurance to the soldiers. According to both Pauline Smith and DeVoto, the army had limited supplies during the Mexican War and all units suffered from a lack of available provisions.³²⁷ To compensate for this shortfall, each of the commanders, including Lieutenant Smith, made it one of their priorities to acquire rations for their soldiers. On two separate occasions, the commander of the Mormon Battalion forced the Missouri Volunteer Regiment to share rations with Mormon soldiers.³²⁸ When Lieutenant Colonel Cooke assumed command of the battalion, he quickly recognized that his biggest issue was the shortfall of rations and water; issued insufficient supplies before leaving Santa Fe, he spent a lot of his time acquiring and then trying to maintain rations, cattle, sheep, and mule/oxen teams to pull the wagons.³²⁹

Theft of rations further exacerbated the problem. On four specific occasions,³³⁰ Cooke noted that soldiers had either over-consumed or stolen army rations to feed private animals. On December 23, 1846, he wrote, “One company which should have, without wastage, twenty-six days’, has eight! What can a commander do with a people who act and manage thus? If they starve, they will be useless or steal and rob.”³³¹

This selfishness by a few individuals forced the Colonel to reallocate rations throughout the battalion. Hungry soldiers did not always believe their commanding

³²⁷ Smith, *Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion*, 93; DeVoto, *The Year of Decision*, 324.

³²⁸ The first was the instance previously cited involving Lieutenant Colonel Allen. The second, involving Lieutenant A.J. Smith, occurred on September 16, 1846. Lieutenant Smith requested supplies from Colonel Sterling Price and the Missouri Volunteer Cavalry. After Colonel Price denied the request and stated that he was not hauling provisions for Mormons, Lieutenant Smith threatened to “let loose the Mormons” on them along with artillery fire. The Mormon Battalion soon after received the much needed supplies. Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 55.

³²⁹ Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854*, 70-71, 74, 79-81, 83-84, 108, 114, 153, 170 and Alter, “Journal of Robert S. Bliss, with the Mormon Battalion,” 81.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 107, 174, 182, 190.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 174.

officer. Some felt that the shortages the Mormons experienced were excessive, since rationing was imposed shortly after leaving Santa Fe and there were Spanish residences available where provisions could have been obtained.³³² Nor did the soldiers want to admit that they themselves were responsible for some of the shortfalls. In his journal, Cooke recorded seven separate occurrences³³³ when, during the night, guards lost beeves and mules because they failed to properly picket and watch them.

As they traveled across the desert and through the mountains on half and, later, less-than-half rations,³³⁴ soldiers traded their clothing for a pittance of food from the local Indians. Because of their physical want for sustenance, the Mormon soldiers consumed anything and everything edible (including intestines). Unlike the foreign-born regular soldiers under Generals Taylor and Scott who got in trouble when they scavenged for food, when possible, Colonel Cooke allowed his soldiers to hunt and fish to supplement their shortfall in rations. However, if he recognized that there was a shortfall of water or fodder, he would order his soldiers to continue their march.³³⁵

In January, 1847, Lieutenant Colonel Cooke was responsible for a failed initiative that cost the battalion hundreds of pounds of grain (corn and flour), pork, and camp equipment that would have greatly facilitated trailblazing efforts in the mountains. To relieve the exhausted mule teams, he devised a plan to use rafts to transport the supplies

³³² SGT William Coray, as cited in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 156; Alter, "The Journal of Nathaniel V. Jones, with the Mormon Battalion," 10; and William Hyde Journal, November 3, 1846, December 23, 1846, January 22, 1847, 29, 36, 39.

³³³ Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854*, 71, 81, 93, 136-137, 148, 151, 188.

³³⁴ At times, the soldier's sole source of sustenance was beef; Day complained in his journal about not even having salt to season it. Abraham Day III Journal, 27.

³³⁵ Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854*, 131, 142.

down river. But the rafts got stuck on sandbars and the soldiers abandoned much of the supplies, minus 400 pounds of flour which they recovered, to return to the unit.³³⁶

Even after the unit arrived in California, problems with supply ships and ground transportation sometimes affected the soldiers' rations. When such a situation arose in March, 1847 and Cooke decided to reduce rations again, some of the soldiers threatened not to drill again unless they received better food. Cooke reacted quickly, ordering the soldiers placed under guard and put in the stockade; there were no more incidents.³³⁷

Worse than the shortage of rations was the lack of available drinking water. Some officers (including Dr. Sanderson and Lieutenant Smith) made it a general practice to go on the advance parties. On these parties, they hunted meat for themselves and arrived first at the watering holes. After sating their own thirst, and that of their animals, Dr. Sanderson mocked the soldiers under his care, laughing at their sorrow:³³⁸

It was quite amusing to see both man and beast, when we would approach places where there had been water but now dry. Each would press forward to satiate their thirst. There were some places that retained a small quantity of something resembling water which was eagerly swallowed.³³⁹

While crossing the desert, Cooke sent dig parties ahead to prepare wells for the approaching battalion and future units that would follow the trail. He often required these teams to keep digging until they found water for his beleaguered troops.³⁴⁰ On one occasion, Abraham Day came into conflict with some officers on the advanced party who were letting their mules drink the water before the men arrived. The altercation escalated until Lieutenant Colonel Cooke arrived and said:

³³⁶ Ibid., 194, 227.

³³⁷ Goldner, *The March of the Mormon Battalion*, 212-213.

³³⁸ Dr. George B. Sanderson Journal, November 23, 1846, 30-31.

³³⁹ Ibid., September 19, 1846, 9.

³⁴⁰ Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854*, 104-105, 109, 111, 141, 164, 204-205, 214.

“What’s the matter, Day?” He answered, making the military salute, “There are men letting their animals drink, and I think men should be served first.” “Present bayonets and keep them back” was all Cooke said, which command was quickly and roughly obeyed.³⁴¹

While Cooke seemed the hero of that day, the eternal pessimist, Sergeant Jones, claimed that on another day, Cooke and his officers let their mules drink up all the water before the men got to the hole.³⁴² At times, the soldiers marched for days with little or no water.

Sergeant Hyde noted in his journal that:

The distance that we had travelled without water for the mules, and but a drop for a small portion of the men, was not less than 70 miles across a barren desert. After we were encamped, the Colonel said that he believed that any other company under like circumstances would have mutinied. But in reference to us, he said that notwithstanding we were worn down, we were ready to obey any orders that might be given.³⁴³

The Mormon Battalion’s lack of food and water far exceeded any of the suffering endured by the foreign-born Catholic soldiers under Taylor’s and Scott’s armies. They went days without water, while digging crews went to work building numerous wells.

Inconsistency with Monthly Pay and Enticements from the Mexican Government

One thing Mormon soldiers had in common with foreign-born, Catholic U.S. soldiers serving in Mexico was that they both received the same miserly wage. However, Mormon soldiers did not complain over their low salaries. Before they enlisted, the Saints as a society were destitute. Their promised salaries and the upfront clothing allowance of \$3.50 a month provided many Mormon families with some much-needed

³⁴¹ Abraham Day III Journal, 24. Although this specific incident is not mentioned in his journal, based on previous entries, Dr. Sanderson was probably one of the officers involved; he typically travelled on the advance party and states that he would allow his animals to drink before the men arrived. Dr. George B Sanderson Journal, November 23, 1846, 30-31.

³⁴² Alter, “The Journal of Nathaniel V. Jones, with the Mormon Battalion,” 7.

³⁴³ William Hyde Journal, December 20, 1846, 36.

cash. A large portion of this money, nearly 20,000 dollars, was sent back to Council Bluffs to be distributed to the soldiers' families or other needy Saints.³⁴⁴ However, there are a number of accounts that show church leaders were at times disappointed with the amount of money the soldiers retained (which questioned their complete devotion to the church).

Part of the reason the Mormon soldiers failed to send expected money to their families and the Church was that the government paid its soldiers very inconsistently. The inconsistency in pay experienced by soldiers serving in California was far greater than that experienced by the soldiers fighting in Mexico. After eight and a half months of service, Henry Standage complained that he had still only received one and a half months pay.³⁴⁵ Meanwhile, Robert Bliss claimed that the government finally paid him for six months service in May, 1847, barely two months before the unit's discharge.³⁴⁶ As the soldiers neared the end of their enlistment, they retained and used the money to outfit themselves with horses, cattle, and equipment, purchased from local Mexicans in preparation for their return trek to Utah.

There is no record that the Mexican government ever reached out to encourage Mormon soldiers to defect. However, Mormon soldiers did receive incentives from the War Department to remain loyal to the U.S. government: the LDS Church received permission to winter in the Iowa Territory until they could proceed westward;³⁴⁷ thanks

³⁴⁴ Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 5-6 and Taggart, "A Short Sketch of His Travels with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints February 17, 1846 – January 11, 1847," 19-20.

³⁴⁵ Goldner, *The March of the Mormon Battalion*, 213.

³⁴⁶ Alter, "Journal of Robert S. Bliss, with the Mormon Battalion," 92.

³⁴⁷ Captain Allen's vague time specifications allowed the Saints to remain for years on the land as church members migrated westward.

to the agreement Captain Allen³⁴⁸ reached with the Pottawatomie Indians, the Mormons raised crops, cut timber, and built blockhouses on Indian lands;³⁴⁹ and the Saints' families depended on the money that they earned to survive through the winter and later migrate to the Great Basin. These incentives were extremely effective because nearly 42 percent of the soldiers were married.³⁵⁰ By protecting and providing for the soldiers' families, the government ensured the loyalty of the Mormon soldiers. Protection of the family and one's home is a strong motivating factor in national allegiance.³⁵¹ When the government promised to provide this protection, Mormon soldiers loyally supported the war effort.

Infringement of Contract, Abandonment, and Dissatisfaction

Although the Mormon soldiers continuously noted in their journals their numerous sufferings, with the exception of some of the Pueblo Detachment soldiers and Sergeant Nathaniel Vary Jones, they failed to express dissatisfaction with the war or their unit. Sergeant Jones, who after numerous conflicts with his company commander, Lieutenant Dykes, was reduced in ranks, was a great pessimist. According to him, officers did nothing right and the land in California was bad, with too many capitalists.³⁵²

³⁴⁸ Mormons recognized that leaders, such as presidents, kings, and magistrates, are human physical embodiments of the nation. All officers in the United States Army are commissioned by the president and are duly appointed representatives of the same when acting in an official capacity. The Mormons understood this concept, which led them to request permission from the president, through his appointed official (Captain Allen) to reside in Indian lands in 1846. The Doctrine and Covenants 134: 1-11.

³⁴⁹ Journal History, July 16, 1846 as cited in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 54; Yurtinus, "Here is One Man Who Will Not Go, Dam'um," 477-479; Smith, *Captain Jefferson Hunt of the Mormon Battalion*, 55; Medill to Harvey, Supt. of Indian Affairs, as cited in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 64.

³⁵⁰ See Appendix A.

³⁵¹ Michel Foucault explains in his book about theoretical movements that "The blood relation long remained an important element in the mechanisms of power, its manifestations, and its rituals. For a society in which the systems of alliance, the political form of the sovereign, the differentiation into orders and castes, and the value of descent lines were predominant; for a society in which famine, epidemics, and violence made death imminent, blood constituted one of the fundamental values." Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (New York: Random House, 1990), 147.

³⁵² Alter, "The Journal of Nathaniel V. Jones, with the Mormon Battalion," 10, 13.

Meanwhile, Mormon soldiers in the Pueblo Detachment, who remembered the abuses of Lieutenant Smith and Dr. Sanderson, feared that the government would force them to extend their enlistment (since they had wintered in Pueblo) or go on to Mexico.

Prior to and during the Mexican-American War, soldiers, especially volunteers, enlisted for a set contractual number of months or years. When that time of service expired, soldiers expected the government to uphold its contract and release them from service. Unfortunately, expirations of soldiers' enlistments did not effectively coincide with actions on the battlefield and generals required soldiers to prosecute the war. In order to sustain the fighting force, generals involuntarily extended the enlistments of some of their regular and volunteer soldiers.³⁵³ Some soldiers saw this as a breach of contract and deserted; some of these deserters chose to join the San Patricio Battalion.

When the Mormon Battalion's year of enlistment neared completion, some of the soldiers feared that the government might try to extend their enlistment. In Colonel Stevenson's³⁵⁴ reenlistment speech, on June 29, 1847, he addressed their growing fears:

Your term of service will soon close . . . I have the right to press you into the service for six months longer, if deemed necessary, and have no doubt but I would be sustained in so doing, but believing, as I do, that enough, if not all will re-enlist without, I have decided not to press you to serve longer. I am required to make a strong effort to raise at least one company, and the entire Battalion if possible.³⁵⁵

As if waiting to verify the colonel's integrity, none of the Mormon soldiers chose to reenlist prior to the unit's discharge from service on July 16, 1847. Colonel Stevenson, who had given up hope of retaining any Mormon soldiers, was surprised when the following day, Captain Daniel C. Davis brought a total of 82 soldiers to enlist (79

³⁵³ Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 253.

³⁵⁴ Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson replaced General Kearny as commander of American forces in California.

³⁵⁵ Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 293.

veterans and three former aides) and formed the Mormon Volunteer Company.³⁵⁶ It is important to note that given the vehement refusal of many of the soldiers to even consider reenlistment, had Stevenson tried to extend the battalion's enlistment, some, if not many, soldiers might have deserted.

Unlike the foreign-born soldiers serving in ethnically diverse regular army units, the Mormon Battalion soldiers considered themselves part of an ethnically united social community. Despite the incredibly severe travel conditions they endured, including shortages of both food and water, Mormon soldiers refused to abandon their brethren. When soldiers collapsed along the side of the trail, their fellow soldiers would go back and recover them:

After quenching their own thirst, many took canteens of water, on mules, and rode back to help the others in, many of whom would never have got to camp without the water, thus brought to them. Terrible was their suffering, but not one hundredth part of it can ever be told; nor can it be understood by those who have never traveled over hot sands, but half fed, and almost without water. Abraham Day was one of those who was best able to stand such suffering, and often was in the lead and returned with water to those less able to endure than was he.³⁵⁷

Soldiers, like Sergeant Hyde, had the moral courage to ignore officers if they ordered them to abandon their fellow soldiers when they were in need.³⁵⁸

With the exception of Lieutenant Smith and Dr. Sanderson, the officers within the Mormon Battalion understood the inherent responsibility soldiers had to care for each other. Eager to gain fame and demonstrate his ability to lead, Smith chose to divide the battalion, abandoning the sick and families, to arrive more quickly in Santa Fe. When

³⁵⁶ Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 268.

³⁵⁷ Abraham Day III Journal, 20.

³⁵⁸ On October 9, 1846, George Taggart noted in his journal the moral courage demonstrated by Sergeant Hyde when he refused to follow the order of Lieutenant Oman (detachment commander). Oman wanted Hyde to take command of the company and leave behind their Lieutenant, who was trying to fix his family's wagon. Taggart, "A Short Sketch of His Travels with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints February 17, 1846 – January 11, 1847," 9.

Lieutenant Colonel Cooke faced a similar situation in December, 1846, he chose his soldiers over his ego; Cooke contemplated separating the battalion to travel more quickly and reach Los Angeles in time to participate in the fighting. However, after contemplating the idea he realized “how crippled the part left would be in the loss of my [his] constant watchfulness . . . I [Cooke] concluded reluctantly, I hope wisely, that it should not be done.”³⁵⁹ This type of dedication, both from the soldiers and the leaders was not apparent in the units with rampant desertion.

Summary

The Mormon soldiers demonstrated through their longsuffering that regardless of denominational differences, Mormons were loyal to the federal government. Most historians claim that the Mormon Battalion’s allegiance was based on religious devotion, and without the strong support from church leaders the soldiers would not have enlisted nor remained loyal. Although religion was the primary factor influencing enlistment, soldier solidarity, individual upbringing, love of their families, and good leadership inspired national allegiance. Strict, but caring, officers who delivered praise according to merit³⁶⁰ and discipline comparable to offenses helped reinforce the soldiers’ loyalty to the government. Most of the Mormon soldiers were American citizens, with strong ties of national loyalty. By providing steady income³⁶¹ and protection for families wintering in the Iowa Territory, President Polk ensured the loyalty of the Mormon soldiers. Even though they despised Lieutenant Smith and Dr. Sanderson, they remained loyal to their

³⁵⁹ Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854*, 181.

³⁶⁰ Before General Kearny left for Washington, he praised the Mormon soldiers as patriots and obedient soldiers and promised to speak well of them in the capital. Abraham Day III Journal, 30.

³⁶¹ The idea that the Mormon soldiers blindly followed their faith can be refuted when they neglected to give all of their money to the church and trust that their families would be cared for.

government under the sound leadership of Lieutenant Colonels Allen and Cooke. Those leaders inspired devotion by both their actions and their orders.

A comparison of their one desertion³⁶² with the national average of 8 percent, the fact that they did not suffer a mutiny, and that soldiers remained in harm's way to protect their commander (who was a representative of the president, the embodiment of the nation), are proof of this devotion. Despite great physical hardships and continuous persecution prior to the war, as proof of their national allegiance, nearly a quarter³⁶³ of the soldiers who reached California were willing to reenlist for another six months service. Many of these soldiers remained in California even after the Mormon Church called the Saints to migrate to Salt Lake City and establish their new Zion.

Using this information, the subsequent chapter will now provide a cross-comparison between the situations of the stalwart Mormon soldiers who remained loyal to the U.S. government and the defecting soldiers who formed the San Patricio Battalion. It will also demonstrate how the experiences of these two distinct groups of soldiers remained similar after the defection, both during and following the war.

³⁶² 0.2%

³⁶³ 79 of the 335 Mormon soldiers in California reenlisted. Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 293.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

There are many reasons why soldiers deserted during the course of the war. Although some scholars who have studied the Mormon or San Patricio Battalions might argue religion was the greatest factor in determining soldier loyalty, quality of leadership was the essential factor that allowed soldiers to overcome their numerous trials and maintain their national allegiance. Religious beliefs did influence people's actions; foreign-born soldiers became sympathetic to the plight of fellow Catholics in Mexico and religious leaders convinced disgruntled Mormons to enlist in the U.S. Army. However, 80 percent of the Irish-American soldiers ignored the Mexican priests' call to defect and remained loyal to the predominantly Protestant U.S. government and Mormon soldiers ignored their Church leaders' calls for mutiny, migration to Salt Lake, and the forfeiture of pay. The overarching influence of leadership in all the areas studied testifies that this was the pivotal factor which determined defection or allegiance. Good leaders did not abandon their soldiers. They treated their soldiers fairly, pronouncing just and reasonable punishments. They did not allow society's bias towards ethnic and religious discrimination to influence their decisions, nor did they allow others to discriminate against their soldiers. When they could not prevent some harsh conditions or government

inaction, good leaders instilled loyalty when they suffered with their soldiers and did everything within their power to alleviate the situation.

Although both the foreign-born and Mormon soldiers endured similar persecutions before the war and experiences during the war, the Mormon Battalion remained loyal thanks to good leadership and solidarity. The regular army, of which 50 percent of the soldiers were foreign-born, suffered from mutinies and numerous desertions primarily because of abusive leadership. The Mormon Battalion had its share of abusive leaders (Smith and Sanderson), but its two official commanders (Allen and Cooke) were strict and fair. Some of the senior officers in the regular army allowed their soldiers to ethnically discriminate against the foreign-born soldiers, since they themselves participated in the action. Meanwhile, although other soldiers (most notably Missouri volunteers) discriminated against them, the non-Mormon officers of the Mormon Battalion defended their soldiers from unwarranted persecution. Mormon soldiers, who were predominantly native-born, considered themselves Americans. Even though, like the foreign-born soldiers, they had been persecuted, they staunchly believed in their Constitutional right to freedom of religion. Whereas officers in the regular army forced Catholic soldiers to attend Protestant services, partly thanks to their isolation and mostly due to the understanding of both Allen and Cooke, Mormon soldiers were free to practice their religion.

During the war, Mormon soldiers suffered greater physical hardships than the foreign-born soldiers in the regular army. They marched a greater distance, lacking more food, water, raiment, and tents for nightly cover as they blazed a wagon trail through mountainous terrain. Unlike many of the officers in charge of the foreign-born soldiers

in regular army units, Cooke was cognizant of his soldiers' situation and endeavored to mitigate their circumstances. He bought food and pack mules whenever possible and allowed soldiers to hunt for additional food. He also demonstrated his own solidarity with his Mormon soldiers by physically assisting them in clearing some of the most difficult mountain passes. Cooke understood that the severe conditions caused many of his soldiers to become ill. However, the Mormon soldiers still suffered equally with the foreign-born soldiers in receiving incompetent and harmful medical treatment. Upon arriving in California, the Mormon soldiers also complained, just like the foreign-born soldiers, of constant drilling and building of fortifications. However, they were allowed to work privately for the community during their off hours to supplement their pay.

The Mormon soldiers (along with the other soldiers participating in the California Theater of the war) received pay less consistently than the regular soldiers serving in Mexico. So why were they not more susceptible to monetary enticements from the Mexican government? Besides the fact that there is no evidence demonstrating that the Mexican government ever made any overtures to the Mormon soldiers, there are two reasons. First, in promising to protect the Mormon settlements at Council Bluffs and allow safe travel to the new territory, the soldiers had already accepted compelling incentives from the U.S. government. Second, their solidarity ensured that they remained together as a unit and people in what they considered enemy land (no desertion of individuals, like with the foreign-born soldiers). This solidarity also protected them from possible capture when they, like the foreign-born soldiers drowned their sorrows with alcohol, and from abandonment since they refused to leave their brethren behind. Foreign-born soldiers in the regular army were independent individuals. As individuals,

they were more easily seduced into voluntarily joining the Mexican government or placing themselves in a situation where they could be captured and impressed into service.

Some scholars might argue after reading this synopsis of the thesis that a comparative study of these two battalions is not valid. They might claim that the battalions are not similar enough. But this is not true. First of all, they both suffered from brutal nativist persecutions prior to the war. They each experienced similar circumstances during the war, with alternating severities of suffering. But most of all, they had equal opportunity and reason to mutiny or desert. Besides the proposed mutinies instigated by John D. Lee, Samuel Gully, and even Brigham Young, had the government attempted to “stop-loss” the Mormon Battalion (as they had done with the foreign-born soldiers in Scott’s army), instead of reenlisting a company of the battalion in July, 1847, they could have possibly lost the entire unit.

Similarities between the Mormon and foreign-born soldiers (who will now be identified as members of the San Patricio Battalion and associated with the nation they chose to defend) continued even after they defected. Both units had government leaders assigned to command them; following the war, they received poor receptions from the people they defended; and both are now revered as ethnic heroes.

Neither Government Completely Trusted their Unique Battalion

Because President Polk questioned the loyalty of a battalion consisting of Mormon soldiers, he ordered that regular army officers would be placed in command of

the unit instead of volunteer officers.³⁶⁴ Except for the month prior to the unit's discharge, army officials went to great lengths to insure that regulars led the Mormon soldiers. Of the scores of volunteer regiments and battalions, few had officers from the regular army assigned as their commanders.³⁶⁵ In this matter, ironically, the U.S. government copied past grievances they had had with British treatment of colonial militias prior to the Seven Years War.³⁶⁶

The Mexican government treated the San Patricio Battalion after a similar fashion. Although Mexican officials publicly defended the patriotism of the San Patricio soldiers, many harbored doubts about their true loyalties.³⁶⁷ To placate other Mexican officers, Santa-Anna ordered that a Mexican officer, Francisco Moreno, should command the San Patricio Battalion. Santa-Anna even required, in July, 1847, that San Patricio soldiers sign a contract with the Mexican government promising a six-month enlistment and acceptance of a Mexican commander.³⁶⁸

Postwar Treatment

Although the Mexican government used the San Patricio Battalion as a propaganda tool during the time of hostilities, the military unit did not long survive the war. Contrary to current beliefs, the majority of former San Patricio soldiers were not well received into Mexican society after the war. Considered deserters, bandits, and alcoholics, many lacked money, clothes, and friends, and were left begging in the streets.

³⁶⁴ James K. Polk, as cited in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 37.

³⁶⁵ Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 27.

³⁶⁶ Allison, Grey, and Valentine, *American Military History*, 35-36,40.

³⁶⁷ Given the fact that members of the San Patricio Battalion became involved in a military coup, following the war with the United States, this seems to have been a valid sentiment.

³⁶⁸ Garvin, "An Immortal Band of Rogues," 100, Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 72-73, and Stevens, *The Rogue's March*, 162.

The Mexican government later tried to make amends and reorganized the San Patricio Battalion (leaving John Riley as the commander), but quickly disbanded it once the battalion became involved in an attempted coup instigated by General Paredes. Two years after the war, most of the living San Patricio soldiers had either been deported or voluntarily left Mexico.³⁶⁹

The Mormon Battalion soldiers received a similar reception when they arrived in the Salt Lake Valley. Brigham Young addressed the situation when he remarked that: “Some have imagined, as I have been informed, that the Battalion was not looked upon with sufficient favor, by the balance of the community.”³⁷⁰ Young had probably overheard John Riser’s story about how the Saints first treated the returning soldiers:

[Mormon Battalion soldiers] had a hard fate, and were despised by those that should have been their friends, for going on Brigham’s Call to save the Church from destruction by their Enemies. They were called the low Hungry ragged Soldiers that knew nothing but blood and thunder. They had been hired and paid for it by the month, and the [authorities] advised the young girls to have nothing to do with the soldiers. This was rather poor consolation to those that had left friends and all behind for the sake of the salvation of the Church, and had soldiered a musket and live[d] a soldiers life and endure[d] all the hardships that we endured, and to send them their small pittance as pay, for services rendered to Uncle Sam, to this same church to be devoured by them, and now return in disgrace to them and be hated and despised by this same Holy people. O Consistency thou art a jewel.³⁷¹

During the Mormon Battalion Festival, February 7, 1855, Brigham Young admitted that “Perhaps, in a few instances, there may have been remarks made about some members of the Battalion, from which it may be inferred that there might be persons who rather lightly esteemed those who went into the service of the United States.”³⁷² Although the

³⁶⁹ Garvin, “An Immortal Band of Rogues,” 115; Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 131, 133, 137, 139, 147; and Stevens, *The Rogue’s March*, 290.

³⁷⁰ Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 351.

³⁷¹ Riser, *Memoir*, 129-130 as quoted in Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 426.

³⁷² Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*, 351.

statement was conciliatory, Young himself was responsible for one of those referred-to remarks. He had launched into a tirade against the soldiers of the battalion and their wives when the returning soldiers challenged leaders because their families had not all been properly cared for in their absence:

I know that the lowest scrapings of Hell were in that Bot [Battalion], notwithstanding there was some good men among them. The soldiers wives have lied & Tatled [sic] about me & Bro. [Albert P.] Rockwood, & Said that we have cheated & wronged them out of their money & thereby Poisoned & soured the feelings of their Husband[s]; in so much that they give way to the Same Spirit & commence finding Fault with their Brethren who has done all they could to Sustain the Soldiers['] Familys while their Husbands were gone.³⁷³

Time heals most wounds and the Saints' attitude toward their returned veterans improved over time. Following the war, despite their recent demonstration of patriotism, as the Catholics' experience slowly improved,³⁷⁴ the Mormons' relations with the federal government worsened.³⁷⁵ When Johnston's Army approached Utah in 1858, the Church depended on this stalwart group of veterans to protect itself.³⁷⁶ In the end, regardless of their treatment, many, like John Hess, felt that their military experience was one of the noblest and greatest acts of their lives. According to Hess, the sacrifice had added

³⁷³ Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 423.

³⁷⁴ Things probably went better for the Catholics because they were too populous to uproot and eliminate; instead, the government and other religious affiliations had to learn tolerance and accept some form of compromise with them. Whereas the Mormons, a smaller denomination of people, had already been forcefully migrated away from the rest of American society; once isolated in the Rocky Mountains, other denominations could continue to differentiate them.

³⁷⁵ Nativists, by singling out these undesirable minorities and spreading conspiracy theories, soon gained power and influence. A few years following the war, an Army of Occupation, which ironically included Lieutenant Colonel Cooke, marched into the Utah Territory to establish martial law and prevent secession. It was not until the 20th century that relations between the Mormon Church, the federal government and other religious denominations began to improve. David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47, no. 2 (September 1960): 205-217.

³⁷⁶ Bigler and Bagley, *Army of Israel*, 428-429.

meaning because “Israel was on the alter of sacrifice, and the Mormon Battalion, of which I was a member, went as a ‘Ram in the Thicket’ and Israel was saved.”³⁷⁷

Commemoration of Mormon Battalion and San Patricio Battalion

History making and history writing are entwined. Communities invent their histories based on how they imagine events transpired, not always how they occurred. Societies often use hindsight in an attempt to create their national or local identities.³⁷⁸ Such was the case for the Irish, Mexicans, and Mormons. These societies, having suffered loss and persecution, have created a source of national and community pride from the service provided by either the San Patricio or the Mormon Battalion.

Following the 1855 Mormon Battalion Festival, organizations such as Daughters of Utah Pioneers and the Mormon Battalion Association ensured that the sacrifices and contributions of the Mormon Battalion were not forgotten. Since its inception in June 2000, Utah annually celebrates a Mormon Heritage Day.³⁷⁹ During the commemoration, descendents of the original Mormon Battalion soldiers gather, recount stories about their ancestors’ trials and contributions, and bask in their patriotism. Church authorities

³⁷⁷ Alter, “John W. Hess, with the Mormon Battalion,” 53.

³⁷⁸ According to Adelman, once a society is established, the people use “hindsight to explain how they got themselves into a present they only dimly grasp.” Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*, 2, 219.

³⁷⁹ Kristen Stewart, “Flags, Drums and Cannon Salute 1st Mormon Battalion Heritage Day: Event honors 500 Mormon soldiers enlisted to assist U.S. Army in Mexican War,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, Sunday, June 25, 2000.

usually provide a religious message, and myths,³⁸⁰ along with facts, are perpetuated in the oral and written stories given by members of the Mormon Battalion Association.³⁸¹

Meanwhile, the San Patricio Battalion is revered both in Ireland and Mexico “as a heroic band of rebels that deserted the cruel Americans to take up the noble cause of the defense of Mexico.”³⁸² Although reviled by many Mexicans at the end of the war, their legend has grown over time as history has been rewritten and the San Patricio soldiers have become mythical heroes to a nation lacking national pride following the “War of American Aggression.”³⁸³ Since 1959, when the Mexican government erected a memorial plaque³⁸⁴ in the San Angel suburb of Mexico City that lists and honors the San Patricio soldiers, they are remembered twice annually with colorful ceremonies: on Saint Patrick’s Day and August 20th (anniversary of the Battle of Churubusco). Meanwhile, Ireland remembers them on September 13th, the anniversary of their hanging.³⁸⁵

Concluding Remarks

Despite being two distinct ethnic groups, the Mormon and San Patricio soldiers experienced a striking number of similarities. At times, they were inverse images, whereas at other moments, they were nearly identical. A lot can be learned about national allegiance and disloyalty by comparing the actions of Mormon and foreign-born

³⁸⁰ Myths included: government conspiracy theories, actions in California, virtuousness of the soldiers, and John D. Lee’s gathering of the Mormon Battalion payroll in Santa Fe.

³⁸¹ Mormon Battalion Association Heritage Day, Saturday, June 14, 2008, Assembly Hall, Temple Square, Salt Lake City, UT, 10:00-11:30 A.M. This year’s commemoration focused on “Manifest Destiny of the West: 1846-1848 From Sea to Shining Sea.”

³⁸² Garvin, “An Immortal Band of Rogues,” 132.

³⁸³ “The War of American Aggression” is a title used by Mexican historians for the Mexican-American War. Garvin, “An Immortal Band of Rogues,” 120, 132-133.

³⁸⁴ Translated from Spanish, the plaque states: IN MEMORY OF THE IRISH SOLDIERS OF THE HEROIC SAN PATRICIO BATTALION, MARTYRS WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES FOR THE CAUSE OF MEXICO DURING THE UNJUST AMERICAN INVASION OF 1847. Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 179.

³⁸⁵ Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 179 and Stevens, *The Rogue’s March*, 294.

Catholic soldiers during the Mexican-American War who suffered similar circumstances and afflictions. But is it fair to give all the blame to those soldiers who did not follow the example of the Mormon Battalion soldiers and decided that for their own best interest they would desert and defect to the enemy? Does society bear some of the blame for establishing the initial situation that tempted the soldier to change their allegiance? Would the fate of the San Patricio soldiers have been different had their circumstances been slightly different or society had chosen another path and treated its Catholic immigrants with more respect and fairness? In order for society and the military to improve, they need to learn from their mistakes and their successes.

This study identified many contributing factors that influenced Mexican War soldiers in their decision to remain faithful to the U.S. government or to desert to the enemy. However, the one factor that overshadows all others was the issue of leadership. Good, fair leadership, provided by competent officers, encourages soldiers to faithfully discharge oaths sworn to national governments. Meanwhile, governments that provide incentives and curb discrimination of ethnic and religious minorities engender trust and loyalty from their soldiers. How people perceive the government, in light of religion, is important; governments must demonstrate tolerance and accommodate peoples' religious faiths to ensure conflicts do not appear as "holy wars" against specific faiths. Although this conflict occurred over 160 years ago, a comparative case study between these two unique units composed of American soldiers, who ended up fighting on opposite sides, can still teach Americans some important lessons. As American interests take soldiers to fight in different parts of the world, whether in South America, Asia, or currently in the Middle East, it is important not to alienate any Americans, but also specifically those who

have ethnic or religious ties to the region in question. If Americans and the government fail to learn from the past, history is doomed to repeat itself.

APPENDIX A

THE MORMON BATTALION ROSTER INFORMATION

TABLE 1: The Mormon Battalion Roster Information ³⁸⁶		
NAME	BIRTH	MARRIED
<u>Headquarters Detachment</u>		
Cooke, Phillip George LTC (U.S.A.)	13 JUN 1809 (Leesburg, VA)	
Allen, James D. LTC (U.S.A.)		
Smith, Andrew J. 1LT (U.S.A.)	28 APR 1818 (Bucks County, PN)	? (Ann Mason Simpson)
Stoneman, George 1LT (U.S.A.)	8 AUG 1822 (Chautaugua, NY)	? (Mary Oliver Hardisty)
Sanderson, George B. Surgeon (U.S.A.)	(Lived in Platt Co., Missouri prior to war)	
McIntire, William L. Asst. Surgeon	27 AUG 1811 (Oswigo, NY)	23 JAN 1846* (Lucinda)
Colton, Charles Edwin Official Aid	1834 (Macob, MI)	1855 (Mary Ann Kellogg)
<u>Company A</u>		
Officers		
Hunt, Jefferson CPT	20 JAN 1803 (Bracken Co., KY)	1 DEC 1823 (Celia Mounts @)
Oman, George W. 1LT	30 JAN 1802 (Luzerne Co., PA)	12 JAN 1846* (Malinda Graham Dickey)
Clark, Lorenzo 2LT	25 MAY 1806 (Grafton, NH)	16 FEB 1856 (Mary Hunt)
Willis, William Wesley 3LT	16 AUG 1811 (Shawneetown, IL)	29 MAR 1833 (Margaret Cherry)
Ferguson, James SGM	28 FEB 1828 (Belfast, Ireland)	(Lucy Nutting)
Glines, James H. SGM	17 APR 1822 Merrimac, NH)	20 DEC 1845 (Elizabeth Ann Myers/Mayer)
Wright, Phinehas R. 1 st SGT	15 JAN 1816 (Chautaugue, NY)	
Brown, Ebenezar 2 nd SGT	6 DEC 1802 (Herkimer Co., NY)	20 JUL 1823 (Ann Weaver; Phebe @)
Allred, Reddick Newton 3 rd SGT	21 FEB 1822 (Bedford Co., TN)	21 JUL 1843 (Julia Ann Bates)
McCord, Alexander 4 th SGT	15 JAN 1811 (NY)	? (Libyl/Sybil Bradenburg)
Hunt, Gilbert 1 st CPL	11 APR 1825 (Edwards Co., IL)	23 APR 1847 (Lydia A. Gibson)
! Frost, Lafayette N. 2 nd CPL	16 MAR 1825 (Knox Co., TN)	
Weir, Thomas 3 rd CPL	26 JUL 1809 (Barons, KY)	1845 (Elizabeth Caroline Clark)
Muir, William S. 4 th CPL	19 JUL 1822 (Stirling, Scotland)	1 JAN 1844 (Jane Robb)

³⁸⁶ Easton, *Members of the Mormon Battalion*; Larson, *Database of the Mormon Battalion*; and Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion*, 283-293. Information was combined from these sources (which had reviewed military, church, and government records) to create this compiled list.

- Names in bold print identify those soldiers who reenlisted in July 1847 into the Mormon Volunteer Company.
- Names italicized indicate soldiers who reenlisted and their records end in California; those additionally marked with an ! identify the soldiers who remained behind and died in California, rather than migrating to Salt Lake or other Mormon settlements.
- Marriage dates identified with an * identify couples that were married on these dates in the Nauvoo records.
- An @ sign following the woman's name, identifies the wives who accompanied their husbands.

Table 1 continued		
NAME	BIRTH	MARRIED
Averett, Elisha Musician	12 DEC 1810 (Murray Co., TN)	19 JAN 1846* (Sarah Jane Witt)
Richards, Joseph W Musician	25 MAY 1829 (Berkshire Co., MA)	
Privates		
Allen, Albern	22 MAY 1802 (Cornwall, CT)	1 JAN 1846* (Marcia Allen)
Allen James		
Allen, Rufus C.	22 OCT 1827 (Delaware Co., NY)	31 MAR 1853 (Laverna Yearsly)
Allred, James Riley	28 JAN 1827 (Bedford Co., TN)	
Allred, James Tillman Sanford	28 MAR 1825 (Bedford Co., TN)	23 NOV 1845 (Eliza B. Manwaring @)
Allred, Reuben Warren	9 NOV 1827 (Bedford Co., TN)	7 FEB 1846 (Elzadie Emmaline Ford @)
Bailey, James	29 JUL 1817 (Hillsborough, NH)	
Beckstead, Gordon Silas	25 NOV 1825 (Ontario, Canada)	24 AUG 1852 (Barbara Park)
Beckstead, Orin Mortimer	2 FEB 1830 (Williamsburg, Canada)	? (Jane Ellen Roberts)
Bevan, James	19 OCT 1821 (Herefordshire, England)	9 MAY 1850 (Mary Shields)
Bickmore, Gilbert	20 JUL 1827 (Morgan Co., IL)	13 MAR 1849 (Katharina J. Huntsman)
Blanchard, Mervin Simeon	1 NOV 1824 (Windsor, CT)	
Brass, Benjamin	22 SEP 1810 (Hampden, MA)	
Bronson/Brownson, Clinton Doneral	17/18 DEC 1824 (Mentor Lake, OH)	25 SEP 1850 (Louisa Andrews)
Brown, John	24 AUG 1819 (Quebec, Canada)	
Brown, William Walton	2 NOV 1828 (Alexandria, VA)	
Bryant/Bryan, John S.	17 SEP 1825 (Clearfield, PA)	
Butterfield, Jacob Kemp	17 FEB 1813/4 (Farmington, ME)	19 MAR 1840 (Louisa Walker)
Calkins, Alva Chauncey	30 SEP 1825 (Cataugus Co., NY)	2 APR 1854 (Martha M. Skidmore)
Calkins, Edwin Ruthvin	6 MAY 1820 (Cayuga Co., NY)	? (Louisa)
Calkins, James Wood	22 NOV 1827 (Cataugus Co., NY)	13 MAY 1852 (Eliza Jane Gilmore)
Calkins, Sylvanus	30 DEC 1823 (Aurora, NY)	22 JAN 1851 (Hannah Elizabeth Kilbourn)
Casper/Caspar, William Wallace	12 MAR 1821 (Richland Co., OH)	29 AUG 1844 (Sarah Ann Bean)
Chase, Hyrum Barry	14 MAR 1823 (Fulton Co., IL)	
Clark, Joseph	26 APR 1828 (Clinton Co., OH)	17 OCT 1849 (Sarah M. Topham)
Clark, Riley Garner	29 JUL 1829 (Clinton Co., OH)	20 MAR 1850 (Amanda Williams)
Coleman, George	2 MAR 1817 (Norfolk, England)	1840 (Mary Reeves)
Cox, Henderson	6 NOV 1829 (Warren Co., IN)	
Curtis, Josiah	5 AUG 1830 (Chautaugua, Sheridan, NY)	11 APR 1850 (Mary Estes)
Decker, Zachariah Bruyn	22 JUN 1817 (Ulster Co., NY)	4 SEP 1842 (Nancy Bean)
Dobson/Dodson, Joseph	26 AUG 1804 (Cheshire, England)	1836 (Elizabeth Furney/Frain)
Dobson/Dodson Eli	29 OCT 1828 (Yellowbanks, OH/Owensboro, KY)	
Earl, James Calvin	27 MAR 1822 (Logan Co., OH)	26 APR 1849 (Mary Elizabeth Parsons)
Egbert, Robert Cowden	12 MAY 1821 (Sullivan, IN)	1 APR 1846 (Seviah Cunningham)
Fairbanks, Henry	3 DEC 1826 (Morris, NJ)	12 FEB 1852 (Rhoda Ann Davis)
Frederick, David Ira	15 SEP 1801 (Mendon, NY)	(Mary Ann Winner)
Garner, David	30 JAN 1818 (Lexington, Rowan, NC)	18/22 OCT 1842 (Dolly Durfee)
Goodwin, Andrew	29 NOV 1818 (Hamilton Co., OH)	(Elizabeth)
Gordon, Gilman	18 JAN 1821 (Guyuga Co., NY)	(Sophia)
Hampton, James	4 APR 1797 (PA)	16 MAY 1819 (Clarissa)
Hawkins, Benjamin	31 JUL 1802 (Saratoga Co., NY)	1841 (Mary Ann Charlotte Dana)
Hewett, Eli Buckner	27 JUL 1826 (Brown Co., OH)	
Hickenlooper, William F.	13 FEB 1823 (Armstrong, PA)	
Hickenlooper, William H.	22 SEP 1804 (Westmoreland Co., PA)	29 AUG 1829 (Sarah Hawkins)
Holden, Elijah Edward	27 MAR 1826 (Pendleton Co., KY)	5 OCT 1848 (Cathrine M. Thatcher)
Hoyt, Henry Pike	2 AUG 1815 (Oneida, NY)	21 AUG 1842 (I. Elizabeth Lincoln)
Hoyt, Timothy Sabine	4 MAR 1818 (Boonville, Oneida, NY)	5/14 APR 1849 (Elizabeth L. Sperry)
Hudson, Wilford Heath	19 SEP 1818 (Harrison Co., IN)	29 NOV 1842 (Juliana Graybill)

Table 1 continued		
NAME	BIRTH	MARRIED
Hulet/Hulett, Schuyler	24 AUG 1826 (Nelson, Portage, OH)	31 JUL 1853 (Jane Wadell)
Hunt, Marshall	12 APR 1829 (Edwards Co., IL)	1851 (Sarah Ann Runyon)
Ivic, Richard A.	10 FEB 1825 (Bedford Co., TN)	16 JUN 1846 (Elizabeth Dobson)
Jackson, Charles A.	27 AUG 1816 (Portage, OH)	
Johnson, Henry Mitche	12 JUL 1821 (Dearborn Co., IN)	
Kelley, Nicholas	1817 (Edwards Co., IL)	(Sarah @)
Kelley, William	6 APR 1828 (Isle of Man, England)	1857 (Christina Peterson)
Kibbey, James	17 JUL 1824 (Niagara, NY)	(Wife in CA?)
Lake, Barnabas	2/3 JUN 1827 (Ontario, Canada)	31 MAR 1850 (Fanny E. Snyder)
Lemmon, James William	16 MAY 1827 (Corydon, IN)	1851 (Rosannah Avrey)
Maxwell, Maxie	(Montreal, Canada)	
Mayfield, Benjamin F.	27 JUN 1826 (Jackson Co., TN)	
Moss, David	17 SEP 1818 (Yorkshire, England)	17 JUN 1852 (Julia Ann Whittaker)
Naegle, John Conrad	14 SEP 1825 (Albersweiler, Pfalz, Bavaria)	1853 (Mary Louisa Kepple)
Oyler, Melcher	27 JAN 1814 (TN)	(Elizabeth)
Packard, Henry	6 MAY 1825 (Geauga Co., OH)	(Almira Mecham)
Pierson, Ebenezer L.	28 OCT 1820 (Killingsworth, CT)	
Ritter, John	5 DEC 1820 (Burks Garden, VA)	
Rowe, Cariatat Conderset	11 MAY 1823 (Perry Township, IN)	(Mary Napier)
Sessions, John	22 AUG 1821 (White Co., IL)	JUL 1846 (Mary Emeline Sessions)
Sessions, Richard	28 APR 1799 (Logan, KY)	14 APR 1821 (Lucretia Haws)
Sessions, William B.	23 AUG 1827 (White Co., IL)	About 1855 (Cathrine Yoger)
Sexton, George B.	27 MAY 1828 (Ontario, Canada)	
Shepherd, Mareus de Lafayette	10 OCT 1824 (Willoughby, OH)	3 MAR 1851 (Harriet Edith Parrish)
Steele, George E.	16 JUL 1826 (Cincinnati, OH)	(Syrina Biggs)
Steele, Isaiah C.	1 AUG 1830 (Cincinnati, OH)	
Swarthout, Hamilton	30 SEP 1828 (Huron, OH)	
Taylor, Joseph	4 JUN 1825 (Warren Co., KY)	24 MAR 1844 (Mary Moore)
Thompson, John Crow	16 MAY 1821 (Montgomery Co., VA)	20 MAR 1845 (Ann Broyhill Clark)
Vrandenburg, Adna	4 AUG 1819 (Alister Co., NY)	
Weaver, Franklin	29 MAY 1829 (Allegany, NY)	12 MAR 1848 (Christiana R. Reed)
Weaver, Miles	22 MAY 1826 (Allegany, NY)	5 JAN/JUN 1848 (Sarah Clark)
Webb, Charles Young	8 MAY 1819 (Malone, Franklin, NY)	29 SEP 1852 (Adeline Freeman)
Wheeler, Merrill W.	14 NOV 1825/6	
White, Joseph	30 MAY 1801 (Boston, MA)	5 JUL 1829 (Ruby Elnora Stearns)
White, Samuel Stephen	8 APR 1821 (Chittenden Co., VT)	6 FEB 1846* (Rebeckah)
Wiley, Jeremiah	6 NOV 1804 (Northfield, Merach, NH)	28 APR 1839 (Samantha Call)
Wilson, Alfred C./G.	13 SEP 1823/5 (Bedford, NY)	11 MAY 1848 (Jane G. Howard)
Winn, Dennis Willson	11 DEC 1826 (Madison Co., AL)	2 JAN 1849 (Margaret Bateman)
Woodworth, Lysander	3 FEB 1828 (Ashtabula, OH)	
Wriston, Isaac N.	13 OCT 1825 (Hopkinsville, KY)	
Wriston, John P.		
Company B		
Officers		
Hunter, Jesse D. CPT	5 JUL 1804/6 (Hopkinsville, KY)	2 FEB 1846 (Lydia @)
Luddington, Elam 1LT	23 NOV 1806 (Litchfield, CT)	(Mary Eliza Clark @)
Barrus/Barris, Ruel 2LT	11 AUG 1821 (Chautauova Co., NY)	10 AUG 1859 (Ellen Martin)
Merrill, Philemon C. 3LT	12 MAR/NOV 1820 (Byron, Genesee, NY)	20 OCT 1840 (Cyrena Dustin)
Coray/Corey, William 1 st SGT	13 MAY 1823 (Stuben Co., NY)	22 JUN 1846 (Milissa Burton @)
Hyde, William 2 nd SGT	11 SEP 1818 (Livingston, NY)	23 FEB 1842 (Elizabeth H. Bullard)
Smith, Albert 3 rd SGT	18 NOV 1804 (Franklin Co., MA)	11 MAY 1826 (Esther Dutcher)

Table 1 continued		
NAME	BIRTH	MARRIED
Green, Ephraim 4 th SGT	5 MAR 1807 (Jefferson, NY)	(Mary Smith)
Rainey, David P. 1 st CPL	1 FEB 1818 (Maury Co., TN)	2 JAN 1846* (Margaret Andrews)
Dunn, Thomas J. 2 nd CPL	2 JAN 1822 (Phelps, Ontario, NY)	1 JUL 1840 (Betsy Briggs)
Chase, John Darwin 3 rd CPL	10 AUG 1815 (Addison, VT)	17 FEB 1846/7 (Almira Higgins @)
Wilcox, Edward 4 th CPL	13 DEC 1819	
Hunter, William Musician	25 DEC 1830 (son of CPT Hunter & Kissiah Brown)	
Taggart, George Washington Musician	6 NOV 1816 (Sharon-Hillsboro, NH)	7 MAY 1843 (Harriet Atkins Bruce)
Privates		
Alexander, Horace M.	15 FEB 1812 (Montgomery Co., VA)	14 SEP 1834 (Nancy R. Walker)
Allen, Elijah	7 FEB 1826 (Cattaraugus Co., NY)	2 MAY 1852 (Eliza Ann Bickmore)
Allen, Franklin	15 APR 1808 (Tompkins, NY)	SEP 1841 (Rebecca Myers)
Allen, George	16 APR 1802 (Wooster, England)	
Bigler, Henry William	28 AUG 1815 (Harrison Co., VA)	9 SEP 1853 (Jane Whipple)
Bingham, Erastus	30 SEP 1822 (St. Johnsbury, VT)	29 OCT 1843 (Olive Horey Freeman)
Bingham, Thomas	19 JUL 1824 (Littleton, Grafton, NH)	6 SEP 1849 (Caron H. Holladay)
Bird, William	18 JUL 1823 (Chenning, NY)	28 SEP 1851 (Ann Roylance)
Bliss, Robert Stanton	1 AUG 1805 (Montville, CT)	29 JAN 1846* (Mary Ann Paine)
Boley, Samuel	25 DEC 1824 (Lancaster, PA)	
Borrowman, John	13 MAY 1814/6 (Glasgow, Scotland)	9 JAN 1849 (Agnes Thompson Park)
Brackenberry, Benjamin B.	27 APR 1827 (Huron, OH)	? (Phebe Jane Allen)
Brown, Francis	2 NOV 1827 (Orleans, NY)	1858 (Mancheeta McGill)
Bush, Richard	13 MAR 1826 (Ulster Co., NY)	23 MAR 1845 (Adeline Johnson)
Bybee, John McCan	17 FEB 1829 (Monroe, Hart, KY)	17 OCT 1849 (Polly Smith)
Callahan, Thomas William	20 APR 1814 (Fulton, NY)	1837 (Lucinda Shipman)
Camp, James Greer	12 JAN 1828 (Dresden, TN/Tuscaloosa, AL)	? (Nancy Boswell)
Carter, Isaac Philo	11 MAR 1829 (Ruthland, VT)	6 OCT 1856 (Lyman Matilda)
Carter, Richard	8 AUG 1820 (Newbury, Oxford, ME)	29 NOV 1840 (Hannah Parker)
Cheney, Zacheus	22 APR 1818 (Cayuga Co., NY)	11 JUL 1848 (Mary Ann Fisher)
Church, Haden Wells	29 AUG 1817 (Franklin, TN)	19 DEC 1844 (Sarah Ann Arterbury)
Clark, George Sheffer	7 NOV 1816 (Jefferson Co., OH)	20 MAR 1850 (Susannah Dalley)
Colton, Philander	19 OCT 1811 (Niagara, NY)	3 JUL 1833 (Polly Matilda Merrill)
Curtis, Dorr Purdy	21 JAN 1819 (Cayuga Co., NY)	28 JAN 1846 (Cathrine Adelia Haight)
Dalton, Henry Simon	3 APR 1827 (Broom Co., NY)	12 MAR 1848 (Elizabeth Jane Kettleman)
Dayton, William/Willard J./T.	APR 1828 (Cattaraugus Co., NY)	
Dunham, Albert	23 MAY 1828 (Allegany, NY)	
Dutcher, Thomas P.	18 MAY 1826 (Boylston, Oswego, NY)	
Eastman, Marcus N.	5 MAR 1825 (Sheffield, CT)	
Evans, Israel	2 OCT 1828 (Columbiana Co., OH)	1 JAN 1849 (Matilda Ann Thomas)
Evans, William	1 MAR 1818 (Hertfordshire, England)	
Fife, Peter Muir	5 APR 1806 (Pathead, Lothian, Scotland)	(Mary Hunter)
Follett, William A.	11 NOV 1825 (Portage, OH)	29 SEP 1845 (Nancy Mariah Faucett)
Freeman, Elijah N.	17 APR 1822 (Caledonia Co., VT)	17 APR 1844 (Mary Bingham)
Garner, Phillip	11 OCT 1808 (Rowan Co., NC)	4 APR 1830 (Mary Hedrick)
Garner, William A.	22 JAN 1817 (Davidson Co., NC)	4 SEP 1832 (Sarah Workman)
Hanks, Ephraim Knowlton	21 MAR 1826 (Lake Co., OH)	2 SEP 1848 (Harriet Amelia Decker)
Haskell, George W.	16 OCT 1797 (Grafton Co., NH)	About 1816 (Sally/Sarah Runnels)
Harris, Silas	14 OCT 1824 (Lawrence Co., IN)	2 SEP 1849 (Sarah Aldridge)
Hawk, Nathan	29 OCT 1823 (Washington Co., IN)	9 JAN 1843 (Elizabeth Conrad)
Hawk, William	3 NOV 1799 (Botcourt, VA)	7 OCT 1827 (Margaret Harris)
Hinckley, Arza Erastus	15 AUG 1826 (Leeds, Ontario, Canada)	1 MAR 1853 (Amelia Woodhouse)
Hoffheims/Hofheinz, Jacob	4 DEC 1812 (Baden, Germany)	1835 (Mary Ann Elizabeth Stevenson)

Table 1 continued		
NAME	BIRTH	MARRIED
Hunter, Edward Jr.	29 MAR 1821 (Delaware Co., PA)	5 NOV 1843 (Mary Ann Whitesides)
Hunisman, Isaiah	14 SEP 1826 (Richland, OH)	16 JAN 1848 (Rebecca Carter Ames)
Jones, David H	4/5 MAR 1824 (Delaware Co., NY)	
Keysor, Guy Messiah	6 OCT 1816 (Black Rock, Frie, NY)	1 SEP 1851 (Mary Ann Elvin)
King, John Morris	23 SEP 1809 (Bennington Co., VT)	11 FEB 1833 (Sarah Ann Jewell)
Kirk, Thomas	18 MAY 1815 (Staffordshire, England)	
Lawson, John	20 JUN 1805 (Washington Co., NY)	1827 (Sarah Leal)
Martin, Jesse Bigler	11 APR 1825 (Harrison Co., VA)	17 DEC 1848 (Sophronia Moore)
McCarty, Nelson	22 SEP 1813/1818 (Ontario, Canada/Ireland)	1843 (Mary Jane Morris)
Miles, Samuel Jr.	8 APR 1826 (Attica, Genesee, NY)	6 SEP 1849 (Hannah M. Colborn)
Morris, Thomas	15 OCT 1799 (Glmrgsh., South Wales)	4 AUG 1827/8 (Frances Hall)
Mount, Hiram B.	1 JAN 1809 (Geauga Co., Onterio, NY)	
Murdock, John Riggs	13 SEP 1826 (Orange, OH)	13 NOV 1849 (Almira H. Lott)
Murdock, Horice/Orrice Clapp	24 DEC 1824 (Geauga, Orange, OH)	16 JUN 1850 (Margaret A. Molen)
Myers, Samuel	1 OCT 1825 (Pike, OH)	
Noler, Christian	1813 (Germany)	
Owens, Robert	10 JUL 1818 (Kent Co., DE)	1837 (Catherine Ann Williams)
Park, James P. 1 st	5 MAY 1823 (London, England)	
Park, James P. 2 nd	21 DEC 1821 (Lanark, Scotland)	21 SEP 1849 (Agnes Findlay)
Pierson, Ephraim	28 OCT 1825 Madison, NY)	5 DEC 1848 (Nancy Ann Foutz)
Pierson, Harmon D.	31 AUG 1818 (Killingsworth, CT)	31 AUG 1848 (Lousa Whitaker)
Prouse/Prows, William Cook	11 JUN 1827 (Kanawha, VA)	6 JUN 1867 (Lousa Malinda Rowena James)
Reed, Calvin	16 OCT 1821 (Sulvan, NH)	11 JUL 1841 (Mary Curtis)
Richards, Peter F./T.	6 APR 1808 (Edinburgh, Scotland)	
Rogers, Samuel Hollister	1 MAR 1819 (Portage Co., OH)	7 MAR 1850 (Ann Matilda Doolittle)
Simmons, William Alpheas/Alphas	28 JUN 1826 (Ontario, Canada)	26 APR 1850 (Mary Elizabeth Grover)
Sly, James Calvin	8 AUG 1807 (Wayne Co., NY)	25 MAR 1829 (Mary Bassett)
Smith, Azariah	1 AUG 1828 (Oswego Co., NY)	
Steers, Andrew J.	(Clinton Co., NY)	
Stevens, Lyman	7 FEB 1812 (Danby, Tompkin, NY)	21 JUN 1836 (Martha Durfee/Dwarf)
Stillman, Dexter	23 MAR 1804 (Colebrook, CT)	12 NOV 1826 (Barbara Redfield)
Stoddard, Rufus	15 JAN 1827 (Ontario, Canada)	13 OCT 1853 (Martha Elizabeth Weaver)
Study, David	2 DEC 1826 (Owl Creek, Richland, OH)	28 JUN 1849 (Mary Ann Ettleman)
Walker, William Holmes	28 AUG 1820 (Caledonia, VT)	1 NOV 1843 (Olive Hovey Farr)
Watts, John S.	4 JUN 1810 (Huntington, England)	
Wheeler, John L.	31 JUL 1805 (Southdown, CT)	
Whitney, Francis T.	24 MAR 1805 (Philips, Smrst., ME)	17 FEB 1827 (Abigail Blanchard)
Wilcox, Henry	13 JAN 1813 (Orleans Co., NY)	(Clarissa Redfield)
Willis/Willes, Ira Jones	21 JAN 1812 (Albany Co., NY)	15 DEC 1849 (Malissa Lott)
Willis, William Sydney S.	18 MAR 1819 (Jefferson, NY)	23 APR 1852 (Lucinda Alzina Lott)
Winters, Jacob	3 JUL/AUG 1824 (IN)	
Workman, Andrew Jackson	15 JUL 1824 (Carlisle, Nckls., KY)	4 JAN 1855 (Rebecca Dack)
Workman, Oliver Gaultry	7 JAN 1828 (Overton Co., TN)	20 JUL 1840 (Isabella Ovington)
Wright, Charles	12 JUN 1822 (Cheshire, England)	
Young, Nathan	5 OCT 1826/7 (Providence, RI)	
Zabriskie, Jerome	24 JAN 1828 (Vermillion, IN)	5 MAY 1851 (Polly Ann Ivie)
<u>Company C</u>		
Officers		
Brown, James CPT	30 SEP 1801 (Rowan, NC)	16 JUL 1846 (Mary McCree Black @)
Rosecrans, George W. 1LT	6 FEB 1812 (Delaware Co., OH)	
Thompson, Samuel 2LT	30 MAR 1813 (Pomfret, Chautaugua, NY)	30 AUG 1838 (Mary Anderson)

Table I continued		
NAME	BIRTH	MARRIED
<i>Clift, Robert</i> 3LT	4 JAN 1824	
Adams, Orson B. 1 st SGT	9 MAR 1815 (Ganossa, NY)	20 MAR 1836 (Susanna Smith @)
Elmer, Elijah 2 nd SGT	10/3 APR 1810 (Addison Co., VT)	23 SEP 1835 (Polly Pierce)
Terrell, Joel J. 3 rd SGT	16 MAR 1801 (Lynchburg, Cmpl., VT)	1 JAN 1853 (Mary Rebecca Hatch)
Wilkin, David 4 th SGT	1 AUG 1819 (Enniskillen, Ireland)	21 JUL 1839 (Isabella McNeil/McMere @)
Nowlin, Jabez/Jabus T. 1 st CPL	18 AUG 1821 (Bedford Co., TN)	13 APR 1846 (Amanda Thomas)
Brown, Alexander 2 nd CPL	3 MAR 1826 (Denison, NC)	21 MAY 1850 (Amanda McMurray)
Martin, Edward 3 rd CPL	18 NOV 1818 (Preston, Lncshr., England)	22 DEC 1845* (Alice Clayton)
Tyler, Daniel 4 th CPL	23 NOV 1816 (Cayuga Co., NY)	11 SEP 1836 (Ruth Welton)
Sprague, Richard D. Musician	2 MAR 1807 (Junius, Seneca, NY)	1832 (Louise Marie Rose)
Allen, Ezra H. Musician	28 JUL 1814 (St. Lawrence, NY)	25 DEC 1837 (Sarah Beriah Fisk)
Privates		
Adair, George Wesley	18 FEB 1820 (Pickens, AL)	
Babcock, Lorenzo	23 FEB 1823 (Chautaugua Co., NY)	1844 (Amy Ann Marble)
! Bailey, Addison		
Bailey, Jefferson	11 MAR 1826/7	
Barney, Walter	7 JAN 1819 (Fayette, OH)	1849 (Caroline Haws)
Beckstead, William Ezra	13 MAR 1829 (Williamsburg, Canada)	1 APR 1873 (Delores Garcia Nunez)
Blackburn, Abner	13 JAN 1827 (Bedford Co., PA)	28 APR 1852 (Lucinda Harris)
Boyle/Bybee, Henry Green	7 MAR 1824 (Tazewell Co., VA)	28 FEB 1859 (Elizabeth S. Ballard)
Brimhall, John	16 APR 1824 (Steuben Co., NY)	5 OCT 1850 (Ammaretta R. Harris)
Brown, Jesse Sowel	26 MAR 1829 (Salisbury, NC)	10 JUL 1857 (Caroline Stewart)
Brownell, Russell Gideon	17 JUL 1818 (Montgomery, OH)	29 MAR 1846 (Melissa C. Call)
Bush, William	Enlisted in 1846. detached in NOV 1846 – no information available	
Burt, William		
Calvert, John Hameker	7 MAR 1828 (Jefferson Co., AL)	1868 (Mary Amelia Gardner)
Carpenter, Isaac		
Carpenter, William Hiram	22 JUL 1820 (Schenectady Co., NY)	13 FEB 1855 (Marmora Sheffield)
Catlin, George Washington	21 SEP 1818 (Oswego, NY)	13 FEB 1851 (Maria Louisa Sanderson)
! Clift, James		
Condit, Jephtha	1827 (Essex, NJ)	
Covil, John Q. A.		
Dalton, Edward	23 MAR 1827 (Bradford Co., PA)	6 MAR 1848 (Mary Elizabeth Meeks)
Dalton, Harry/Henry	10 JAN 1825 (Bradford Co., PA)	1850 (Isabell Ferguson)
Dodge, Augustus Erastus	6 DEC 1822 (Jefferson Co., NY)	1843 (Sarah Gulley)
! Donald, Neal		
Dunn, James	6 JUN 1810	
Durphy/Durfee, Francillo	12 MAY 1812 (Addison, VT)	4 MAY 1830 (Mariana/Miriam Jones)
! Fellows, Hiram W.		
Fife, John	18 MAY 1825 (Edinburgh, Scotland)	
Fifield, Levi Joseph	12 DEC 1803 (Grantham Sllvn., NH)	10 SEP 1827 (Amy Tracy)
Forbush, Lorin E.	28 AUG 1827 (Chittenden, NY)	
Gibson, Thomas		
Gould, John Calvin	19 SEP 1821 (Berryville, Clark, VA)	
Gould, Samuel J.	15 AUG 1778 (Litchfield Co., CT)	Before 1804 (Sally)
Green, John	(MI)	
Hancock, Charles B.	23 DEC 1823 (Columbus, Frnkln., OH)	10 MAR 1850 (Malinda M. Crockett)
Hancock, George Washington	8 MAR 1826 (Columbus, Cuyoga, OH)	14 MAY 1848 (Betsy Jane Fackrell)
Harmon, Ebenezer	3 JUL 1830 (OH)	
Harmon, Lorenzo F.	13 APR 1828 (Erie Co., PA)	
Hatch, Meltair	15 JUL 1825 (Farmersville, NY)	1 JAN 1846 (Parmella Snyder)

Table I continued		
NAME	BIRTH	MARRIED
Hatch, Orin	9 MAY 1830 (Farmersville, NY)	10 OCT 1855 (Elizabeth M. Perry)
Hendrickson, Abram	1806 (Boylston, Oswego, NY)	1828 (Sarah Gallea)
Hendrickson, James	12 NOV 1822	6 JUN 1854 (Martha Jane Langley)
Holdaway, Shadrach/Shedrick	15 OCT 1822 (Hawkins Co., TN)	24 DEC 1848 (Lucinda Haws)
Holt, William	11 SEP 1820 (Rutherford Co., TN)	28 JUL 1853 (Patience Dolly Childs)
Hulse, Lewis	7 FEB 1805	
Ivie, Thomas C.	25 August 1820 (Bedford, TN)	24 AUG 1844 (Amanda Jane Moore)
Johnson, Jarvis	6 JUL 1829 (Addison Co., VT)	5 AUG 1849 (Hester Ann Jackson)
Johnston/Johnstun, Jesse Walker	21 JAN 1820 (Rush Creek, OH)	28 MAR 1848 (Betsy Ann Snyder)
Johnston/Johnstun, William J.	21 AUG 1824 (Fairfield, Greenfield, OH)	26 JAN 1864 (Ellen Jane Perks)
Jois/Joyce, Thomas C.	7/17 JUN 1813 (Bedfordshire, England)	? (Mary Ann Ford)
Landers, Ebenezer	7/19 SEP 1818	? (Anna)
Larson, Thurston	11 OCT 1830 (Steka, Nrng., Norway)	10 DEC 1859 (Elizabeth Mary Fox)
Layton, Christopher	8 MAR 1821 (Bedfordshire, England)	20 JUN 1842 (Mary Matthews)
Lewis, Samuel	27 OCT 1829 (Simpson Co., KY)	1 JAN 1854 (Sarah Jane Huntsman)
Maggard, Benjamin		
Mead, Orlando Fish	10 JAN 1823 (Fairfield, CT)	27 JAN 1853 (Lydia Aby Presley)
McCullough, Levi H.	18 APR 1810 (Chenango Co., NY)	9 JAN 1834 (Clarinda Bartholomew)
Moore, Calvin White	21 JUL 1827 (Hampden, MA)	13 JAN 1853 (Elizabeth C. Allred)
Mowrey, Harley	9 AUG 1822 (Burrillville, RI)	4 JUL 1847 (Martha Jane Sargent)
Mowrey, John Thomas	12 OCT 1827 (NC)	
Myler, James Jr.	3 FEB 1822 (Butler, OH)	5 OCT 1843 (Julia Ann Brownell)
Olmstead/Olmsted, Hiram	28 NOV 1827 (Farmersville, NY)	
Parke, George		
Peck, Isaac	19 FEB 1828 (Cayuga Co., NY)	23 SEP 1858 (Sarah C. Gilbert)
Peck, Thorit	30 MAY 1826 (Lock Cayuga, NY)	3 JAN 1850 (Anna Young)
Perkins, David M.	23 AUG 1823 (White Co., TN)	
Perkins, John	28 JUN 1821 (Somerset, England)	1847 (Mary Conway)
Pickup, George	16 APR 1821 (Lancaster, England)	21 JUN 1849 (Eliza Haws)
Pierson, Judson A.	1828 (Middlesex, CT)	
Pulsipher, David	10 AUG 1829 (Onondaga Co., NY)	26 OCT 1867 (Elizabeth I. Jacobson)
Reynolds, William Fletcher	8 AUG 1826 (Fayette Co., IN)	22 FEB 1846 (Anna Hawley)
Richie, Benjamin W.		
Richmond, Benjamin Boyce	20 OCT 1825 (West Laboro, Canada)	(Sarah Eizabeth Garlick)
Riser, John Jacob	4 JUN 1824 (Wurtemberg, Germany)	
Rust, William Walker	14 AUG 1807 (Caledonia Co., VT)	24 JUL 1832 (Mary Thurston Rand)
Shiple, Joseph	1 NOV 1813 (Latimer, Nttngh., England)	5 JAN 1854 (Elizabeth Anderton)
Shumway, Aurora	30 JUN 1823 (Buffalo, NY)	(Charlotte)
Shupe, Andrew Jackson	9 NOV 1815 (Grayson Co., VA)	12 OCT 1837 (Mary Elizabeth Creager)
Shupe, James Wright	23 FEB 1823 (Wythe Co., VA)	1846 (Sarah Coats Prunty @)
Smith, Milton	21 MAY 1828 (Montgomery Co., OH)	
Smith, Richard D.		
Squires, William	26 SEP 1816 (Linton, Devon, England)	
Thomas, Elijah	22 JAN 1815 (Richmond, NC)	APR 1855 (Harriet Johnson)
Thomas, Nathan T.	22 MAY 1818 (Marlboro, SC)	
Thompson, James L.	22 JAN 1818 (Pomfet, Chautaugua, NY)	5 OCT 1835 (Delila Willis)
Tindell, Solomon		
Truman, Jacob M.	30 AUG 1825 (Niagara, NY)	19 APR 1849 (Elizabeth Boyce)
Tuttle, Elanson	18 SEP 1807 (Onterio, Canada)	1 JAN 1828 (Ellen Barclay)
Wadc, Edward D.	11 MAY 1825 (Farmville, NY)	2 JAN 1849 (Blinda Hickenlooper)
Wade, Moses	2 JUL. 1792 (Essex, NJ)	2 FEB 1813 (Sally Maria Bundy)
Welsh/Welsch, Madison	1828 (Carthage, IL.)	

Table 1 continued		
<u>NAME</u>	<u>BIRTH</u>	<u>MARRIED</u>
<i>Wheeler, Henry</i>	18 JAN 1830	
White, John Stout	15 FEB 1818 (Monmouth Co., NJ)	5 APR 1849 (Ann Eliza Adelaide Everett)
Whitworth, Robert W.	19 MAR 1828 (Halifax, England)	
Wilcox, Matthew		
Wood, William	2 FEB 1823 (Hereford, England)	14 MAR 1849 (Lucy Babcock)
Company D		
Officers		
Higgins, Nelson CPT	1 SEP 1806 (Orstego Co., NY)	24 DEC 1827 (Sarah Blackman @)
Dykes, George P. 1LT	24 DEC 1814 (St. Clair Co., IL)	15 DEC 1845* (Dorcas Kelling)
Hulet/Hulett, Sylvester 2LT	1 MAR 1800 (Berkshire Co., MA)	(Christen Whitmer)
Canfield, Cyrus C. 3LT	20 DEC 1817 (Columbus, Franklin, OH)	9 OCT 1841 (Louisa Jones)
Jones, Nathaniel Vary 1 st SGT	13 OCT 1822 (Brighton, Monroe, NY)	14 MAR 1845 (Rebecca M. Burton)
Williams, Thomas S. 2 nd SGT	2 JAN 1826/7 (Murray Co., TN)	25 AUG 1842 (Albina Marie Merrill @)
Tuttle, Luther 3 rd SGT	19 NOV 1825 (New York City, NY)	18 JUL 1846 (Abigail Haws)
Haws, Alpheus Peter 4 th SGT	15 OCT 1825 (Essex, Ontario, Canada)	24 DEC 1845 (Adeline Dunn)
Stephens/Stevens, Arnold 1 st CPL	24 AUG 1802 (Bastard, Ontario, Canada)	5 NOV 1828 (Lois Coon)
Buchanan, John 2 nd CPL	25 JAN 1825 (Lexington, Fyft., KY)	23 FEB 1851 (Adeline Coons/Cions)
Coons, William A. 3 rd CPL	1815? (Pittsburgh, PA)	
Lane, Lewis 4 th CPL	10 JAN/DEC 1825	
Jackson, Henry Wells Musician	10 MAR 1827 (Chemong, NY)	3 FEB 1850 (Eliza Ann Dibble)
Smith, Willard G. Musician	9 MAY 1827 (Loraine Co., OH)	14 APR 1865 (Hulda Cordelia Thurston)
Privates		
Abbott, Joshua	14 AUG 1804 (Suffolk, MA)	1834 (Ruth Markham)
Averett, Jeduthan	12 JUN 1816 (Chesterfield Co., NC)	11 AUG 1836 (Holly Jane Tingle)
Badlam Samuel		
Barger, William W.	6 JAN 1812 (Perry Co., IN)	15 JUN 1837 (Fereba Frost)
Boyd, George Washington	30 OCT 1826 (Chester Co., PA)	10 MAY 1852 (Ellen Diana Baldwin)
Boyd, William W.		
Brizee/Brizze, Henry Willard	1 MAY 1826 (North Leverett, MA)	? (Emily Amanda Rockwell)
Brown, James Polly	22 APR 1803 (Shelby Co., KY)	13 APR 1826 (Eunice Reasor @)
Brown, James Stephen	4 JUL 1826 (Davidson Co., NC)	23 JUL 1854 (Lydia Jane Tanner)
Button, Montgomery E.	6 FEB 1813 (NY)	13 SEP 1835 (Mary Bittles @)
Casto, James B./C.	6 SEP 1820 (Terre Haute, IN)	? (Sarah Odekirk)
Casto, William W.	10 FEB 1816 (Orange Co., IN)	1846 (Rachaline Ina)
Chase, Abner	18 MAY 1813 (Addison, VT)	
Clawson, John Reese	23 DEC 1828 (Oneida, NY)	30 JUL 1854 (Lucinda Rhodes)
Colc, James Barnett	22 AUG 1828 (Geauga Co., OH)	2 NOV 1856 (Lucy Ward)
Collins, Robert H.	DEC 1822 (England)	6 FEB 1846* (Mary Jane Mayberry)
Compton, Allen	10 JAN 1809 (Wilson Co., TN)	13 JAN 1832 (Mary Bettis)
Cox, Amos	25 MAR 1821 (Oswego, Tioga Co., NY)	20 JUN 1841 (Philena Morley)
Curtis, Foster	8 MAY 1826 (Oakland Co., MI)	12 APR 1857 (Clarissa Ann Bemis)
Davis, Eleazer	18 AUG 1826 (Livingston, NY)	1850 (Nancy Brown)
Davis, James	26 MAY 1826 (Llanfrothan, England)	5/8 NOV 1850 (Ann Owens)
Davis, Sterling	8 AUG 1822	31 JAN 1846* (Maria)
Douglas, James		
Douglas, Ralph Briggs	21/28 DEC 1824 (Lancaster, England)	1846 (Hencretta Wheeler)
Fatoute, Ezra	24 DEC 1804	
Finlay, Thomas B.		
Fletcher, Philander	12 FEB 1823 (Tioga Co., PA)	
Forsgren, John Eric	7 NOV 1816 (Gefle, Gfflsb., Sweden)	15 FEB 1849 (Sarah Bell Davis)

Table 1 continued		
NAME	BIRTH	MARRIED
Frazier, Thomas Leonard	9 JUN 1827 (Henry Co., TN)	7 MAR 1849 (Rachel Maxfield Young)
Gifford, William		
Gilbert, John R.	7 MAY 1822 (Niagara, Ontario)	(Betsy Ann Pettegrew)
Gilbert, R.		
Gilbert, Thomas	10 AUG 1817 (Quebec, Canada)	
Gribble, William	15 AUG 1817 (Quebec, Canada)	4 MAR 1837 (Adelia Maria Clements)
Hendricks, William D.	6 NOV 1829 (Simpson Co., KY)	12 MAR 1851 (Mary Jane Andrus)
Henrie, Daniel	15 NOV 1825 (Hamilton Co., OH)	29 OCT 1849 (Amanda Bradley)
Higgins, Alfred	27 JUL 1831 (Huron, OH)	26 FEB 1858 (Diantha Allen)
Hirons, James P.	1825 (Bedford TN)	(Mary/Sarah Ann Ivie @)
Hoaglund/Hoagland, Lucas	15 JAN 1827 (Royal Oak, MI)	24 DEC 1848 (Rachel Johnson S. Hale)
Holmes, Jonathan Harriman	1 MAR 1806 Rowley, Essex, MA)	1 DEC 1842 (Elvira Annic Cowles)
Hunsaker, Abraham	29 NOV 1812 (Union, IL)	3 JAN 1833 (Eliza Collins)
Huntington, Dimick Baker	26 MAY 1808 (Jefferson, NY)	28 APR 1830 (Fanny Mariah Allen @)
Jacobs, Sanford	16 AUG 1810	
Kenney, Loren Edward	7 JUL 1815 (Worcester Co., MA)	1850(?) (Mary Ann Tucker)
Lamb, Lisbon	21/7 JUL 1827 (Wayne, NY)	15 FEB 1849 (Sarah Eleanor Brown)
Laughlin, David Sanders	26 APR 1814/7 (Dunbarton, NH)	11 APR 1849 (Julia Anne Rocker)
McArthur, Henry	21 FEB 1820/9 (Scubgrass, PA)	5 MAR 1850/60 (Sarah A. Ivie)
Maxwell, William Bailey	14 MAR 1821 (Shawneetown, Galltn., IL)	26 NOV 1840 (Lucretia C. Bracken)
Mecham/Meacham, Erastus Darwin	20 JUL 1826 (St. Lawrence Co., NY)	4 FEB 1849 (Martha Jones)
Merrill, Ferdinand	10 APR 1830 (Albana, Gnsec., NY)	
Mesick, Peter I.	24 OCT 1803 (Albany, NY)	24 JAN 1827 (Phebe Lewis)
Oakley, James DeGroat	5 SEP 1826 (Long Island, NY)	14 SEP 1851 (Alvina Ann Cole)
Owen, James Colegrove	11 OCT 1825 (Potter Co., PA)	1 JUN 1850 (Sariah Rawson)
Peck, Edwin Martin	24 JUL 1828 Caledonia Co., VT)	20 JUN 1846* (Lydian Ann Carter)
Perrin, Charles	26 APR 1812	(Mary or Hannah)
Pettegrew, James P.	15 MAY 1825 (Columbia, OH)	(Sabrina Williams)
Rawson, Daniel Berry	16 DEC 1827 (Washington Co., IN)	9 NOV 1845 (Mariah Atkinson)
Raymond, Alonzo Pearis	14 FEB 1819 (Addison Co., VT)	7 FEB 1846 (Clarinda Cutler)
Richmond, William	(England)	
Roberts, Benjamin Morgan	15 JAN 1827 (Chester Co., PA)	23 NOV 1856 (Mary Ann Bullock)
Robinson, William	28 FEB 1828 (Dublin, Ireland)	
Rowe, William	20 FEB 1826 (West Burlington, IN)	10 MAR 1853 (Elizabeth Murdock)
Roylance, John	20 NOV 1807 (Cheshire, England)	1830 (Mary Ann Oaks)
Runyon, Levi	20 MAY 1820	
Sanderson, Henry Weeks	13 MAR 1829 (Hampden Co., MA)	7 MAR 1849 (Rebecca Ann)
Sargent, Abel Morgan	27 FEB 1798 (MD)	25 AUG 1822 (Sarah Edwards)
Savage, Levi	223 MAR 1820 (Huron, OH)	23 JAN 1848 (Jane Mathers)
Sharp, Albert		
Sharp, Norman	10 SEP 1808	(Martha Jane Sargent @)
Shelton, Sebert C.	29 JUN 1793 (Pittsylvania Co., VA)	(Elizabeth Spears @)
Smith/Snyder, John Glover	31 OCT 1808 (Milton, PA)	1857 (Margaret Allen)
Spencer, William W.	29 MAR 1808 (Walton, Delaware, NH)	8 NOV 1840 (Emily L. Davis)
Steele, John	21 MAR 1821 (Down, Ireland)	1 JAN 1840 (Catherine Campbell @)
Stephens, Alexander	13 APR 1813 (Rowan Co., NC)	1831 (Margaret Northam)
Stewart, Benjamin F.	2/24 OCT 1828 (Green Co., IN)	9 AUG 1854 (Mary Ann Packer)
Stewart, James William	14 FEB 1827 (Greene Co., IN)	31 JUL 1852 (Elizabeth Hoopes)
Stewart, Robert Boyd	1 AUG 1817 (Morengo, Crfrd., IN)	29 AUG 1863 (Margaret McCullough)
Stillman, Clark	17 AUG 1827 (Livingston, NY)	
Swarthout, Nathan	16 AUG 1823 (Huron Co., OH)	
Tanner, Myron	4 JUN 1826 Warren Co., NY)	22 MAY 1856 (Mary Jane Mount)

Table 1 continued

NAME	BIRTH	MARRIED
Thomas, Hayward	6 DEC 1814 (Delaware Co., PA)	
<i>Thompson, Miles J.</i>	7 MAR 1827	(Lucy)
Tippens, John Harvey	5 SEP 1810 (Wilton, Ronghm., NH)	OCT 1834 (Abigail Jane Smith)
Treat, Thomas W		8 DEC 1842 (Mary M. Lawyer)
Tubbs, William R.	25 JAN 1824 (Cayuga Co., OH)	(Sophia @)
Twitchel, Ansel	7 JAN 1825 (Meigs, Bedford, OH)	7 OCT 1844 (Louisa Samantha Hitchcock)
Walker, Edwin	15 APR 1828 (Caledonia, VT)	24 FEB 1851 (Ann Sophia Tyler)
Whiting, Almon	DEC 1821 (Portage Co., OH)	16 OCT 1853 (Lucia Leavitt)
Whiting, Edmond	31 JUL 1831 (Sharon, OH)	19 JUL 1857 (Augusta McConoughey)
Woodward, Francis Snow	20 FEB 1829 (Rowe, Franklin, MS)	8 JUN 1849 (Mary Catherine Mathis)
Company E		
Officers		
Davis, Daniel Cron CPT	18 DEC 1808 (Amesbury, Sussex, MA)	1843 (Susan Moses @)
Pace, James 1LT	15 JUN 1811 (Rutherford Co., TN)	26 MAR 1831 (Lucinda G. Strickland)
Lytle, Andrew 2LT	25 DEC 1812 (Milton Co., PA)	1853? (Hannah Hull)
Gully, Samuel L. 3LT	27 MAY 1809 (Johnston, NC)	29 JAN 1847 (Sarah Ann Fuller)
Brown, Edmund L. 1 st SGT		? (Agnes @)
Brazier, Richard 2 nd SGT	6 DEC 1793 (Kent, England)	
Hanks, Ebenezer 3 rd SGT	11 FEB 1814 (Troy, NY)	21 JAN 1846* (Jane Wells Cooper)
Brown, Daniel 4 th SGT	18 DEC 1809 (Gloucester, England)	2 JUN 1834 (Elizabeth Harris)
Ure, Martin 1 st CPL		
St. John, Stephen M. 2 nd CPL	10 APR 1810 (Cazenovia, NY)	(Sally)
Binley/Bentley, John W. 3 rd CPL	18 APR 1814 (Logan Co., OH)	6 FEB 1846* (Martha Birley)
Stephens/Stevens, Roswell 4 th CPL	17 NOV 1808 (Ontario, Canada)	1827 (Valle Maria Doyle)
Scott, James A. CPL		
Hancock, Levi W. Musician	7 APR 1803 (Springfield, Hampdn., MA)	29 March 1833 (Clarissa Reed)
Earl, Jesse/Justice C. Musician	17 NOV 1831 (Ontario, Canada)	21 JUL 1860 (Adeine Maria Woodward)
Privates		
Bates, Joseph William	16 JAN 1827 (Staffordshire, England)	10 DEC 1850 (Harriet Billington)
Beers, William	30 APR 1827 (Oxford, England)	
Biddome/Beddome, William	25 JUL 1829 (Manchester, England)	
Brown, Daniel	2 OCT 1822	? (Harriet @)
Buckley/Bulkley, Newman	18 AUG 1817 (Cayuga Co., NY)	7 JAN 1844 (Jane Drapper)
Bunker, Edward	1 AUG 1822 (Penobscot Co., ME)	9 FEB 1846 (Emily Abbott)
Burns, Thomas R.	18 AUG 1824	(Rebecca Smith @ - wife of teamster Elijah Smith)
Caldwell, Matthew	11 JUN 1822 (Jefferson Co., IL)	17 OCT 1841 (Barzilla Guyman)
Campbell, Jonathan	28 FEB 1812 (Bedford, PA)	FEB 1846 (Lucinda Shipman)
Campbell, Samuel	4 MAY 1826 (Hornby, Tompkins, NY)	
Cazier, James	13 JUL 1817 (Woods, VA)	28 MAY 1839 (Juliet Catherine Hudson)
Cazier, John	14 MAR 1821 (Wood Co., VA)	FEB 1843 (Frances Elizabeth LeMaster)
Chapin, Samuel		
Clark, Albert	1 MAR 1824	
Clark, Samuel G.	12 AUG 1800 (Merrimac, NH)	1823? (Roxanna Frizzle)
Cox, John	10 AUG 1810 (Gloucester, England)	1 MAR 1836 (Eliza Roberts)
Cummings, George Washington	8 OCT 1811 (Bathstuen, NY)	(Phebe Jane Ferguson)
Davis, Walter L.		
Day, Abraham	24 SEP 1817 (Windham Co., VT)	15 JUN 1838/9 (Elmira Buckley)
Dennet, Daniel Quinby	27 DEC 1808 (Hollis, York, ME)	30 JUN 1851 (Lucy Ann Very)
Dyke, Simeon	16 APR 1814 (Andover, NY)	31 JAN 1846 (Mary Ann Fornay)
Earl, Jacob Sypher/s	28 DEC 1821 (New Brunswick, Canada)	16 NOV 1853 (Fanny Cummings)

Table I continued		
NAME	BIRTH	MARRIED
Ewell, John Martin Sr.	5 AUG 1823 (Albermale Co., VA)	28 AUG 1842 (Elizabeth Study)
Ewell, William Fletcher	30 NOV 1813/5 (Fluvanna, Palmyra, VA)	30 NOV 1834 (Mary Lee Bland)
Folett/Follert, William Tillman	26 MAR/MAY 1819 (Phelps, NY)	24 MAR 1854 (Ester Bayles)
Fornay/Farny, Frederick	9 OCT 1813 (PA)	1838 (Clara Ann Ericman)
Glazier, Luther William	22 MAR 1823 (Madison Co., NY)	22 MAR 1850 (Martha Jane Stephensen)
Harmon, Oliver N.	18 OCT 1826 (Erie Co., PA)	18 OCT 1859 (Sarah Jane Rodeback)
Harris, Robert	26/8 DEC 1808 (Gloucestershire, England)	18 MAR 1835 (Hannah M. Eagles)
Harrison, Isaac/Israel	2 NOV 1815 (Columbiana Co., OH)	17 JUN 1837 (Sabina Ann Davis)
<i>Hart, James S.</i>		
Hess, John W.	24 AUG 1824 (Franklin Co., PA)	2 NOV 1845 (Emmeline Bigler @)
Hickmott, John		
Hopkins, Charles A.	10 FEB 1810 (Burlington, NJ)	28 JAN 1846* (Lydia)
Hoskins, Henry	12 JUL 1812 (Hartford, CT)	
Howell/s, Thomas Charles Davis	22 FEB 1814 (Wayne, NC)	5 JUL 1835 (Sarah Stuart)
Jacobs, Bailey		
Jameson, Charles	9 APR 1803 (Little York, PA)	8 AUG 1851 (Nancy Stanley)
Judd, Hiram	31 AUG 1821/4 (Bostard, Ontario, Canada)	27 JUN 1844 (Lisania Fuller)
Judd, Zadock Knapp Henry	15 OCT 1827 (Bostard, Ontario, Canada)	14 NOV 1852 (Mary Minerva Dart)
Karren, Thomas	1 MAY 1810 (Isle of Man, England)	11 MAY 1833 (Ann Ratcliffe)
Kelley, George		
Kelley, Milton	12 NOV 1807 (Bracken Co., KY)	10 JAN 1836 (Malinda Allison @)
Knapp, Albert	10 JUL 1824/7 (Jefferson, NY)	7 JAN 1849 (Rozina Shepard)
Lance, William	6 OCT 1828 (Perth, Ontario, Canada)	2 AUG 1862 (Ann Elizabeth Bell)
McBride, Harlum	8 DEC 1834 (Villanova, Chtg., NY)	25 DEC 1864/5 (Jensine A. Gyldenlove)
McLellan/McLelland, William Carrol	12 MAY 1828 (Bedford Co., TN)	19 JUL 1849 (Almeda Day)
Miller, Daniel Morgan	19 NOV 1821 (Genesee, Orleans Co., NY)	8 JAN 1851 (Elizabeth Mosely)
Miller, Miles	26 JUL 1818/9 (Clarendon, Orleans, NY)	27 JAN 1849 (Rachel Erving/Ewing)
Park, William Asbery	21 DEC 1826 (Bedford)	1849 (Matilda Kathrine Wilson)
Pettegrew, David	29 JUL 1791 (Windsor Co., VT)	About 1817 (Elizabeth Alden)
Phelps, Alva	15 NOV 1815 (Susquehanna, VT)	15 NOV 1835 (Margaret Robinson/Robison)
Pixton, Robert	27 FEB 1819 (Lancashire, England)	5 MAY 1839 (Elizabeth Cooper)
Porter, Sanford Jr.	25 JUN 1823 (Trumbull, OH)	25 JUL 1852 (Malinda Ann Porter)
Pugmire, Jonathan, Jr.	7 DEC 1823 (Cumberland, England)	13 APR 1844 (Elizabeth McKay)
Richardson, J.		
Richardson, Thomas	21 FEB 1804 (Lancashire, England)	About 1824 (Mary Mallalieu)
Roberts, Levi	26 FEB 1815 (Gloucesterchire, England)	18 AUG 1835 (Harriet Ann Efford)
Sanders, Richard Twiggs	31 MAY 1828 (Maury, TN)	1851 (Antonette Riallis)
Scott, Leonard M.		
Skeen/Skene, Joseph	10 AUG 1816 (Steelville, PA)	8 SEP 1835 (Maria Amanda Dolby)
Slater, Richard	2 FEB 1812 (Lancaster, England)	5 NOV 1834 (Ann Corbridge)
Smith, David	20 JUL 1820 (Oxford, ME)	7 MAY 1843 (Phoeby Bowley)
Smith, Elisha		(Rebecca @)
Smith, Lot	15 MAY 1830 (Oswego Co., NY)	1851 (Lydia Minerva McBride)
Smith, Luther		
Spidle, John	29 MAY 1819 (Franklin, OH)	18 DEC 1842 (Margaret Smith)
Standage, Henry	26 FEB 1818 (Lancashire, England)	13 APR 1845 (Sophronia Armenia Scott)
Strong, William	30 OCT 1827 (Indiana Co., PA)	17 APR 1856 (Harriet Neeley)
Tanner, Albert Miles Standish	4 APR 1825 (Warren Co., NY)	12 SEP 1855 (Lovinia Bickmore)
<i>West, Benjamin</i>		
Williams, James Van Nostrand	13 DEC 1830 (Toronto, Ontario, Canada)	8 JUL 1866 (Edna Pherson)
Wilson, George Deliverance	28 DEC 1807 Chittendon Co., VT)	Before 1841 (Mary Ellen Johnson)
Woolsey, Thomas	3 NOV 1805 (Fayette, KY)	29 APR 1829 (Mary Burrell)

APPENDIX B

NATIONAL ORIGIN DEMOGRAPHICS OF MORMONS AND THE MORMON BATTALION

The following tables identify the national origins of the Mormons residing within the Iowa Territory when the U.S. government enlisted the Mormon Battalion³⁸⁷ (Table 2) and those who accepted enlistment³⁸⁸ (Table 3). The unknown, but believed from U.S. origins, include sons and brothers of other members in the battalion.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁷ This is the only known source to track Mormon demographics shortly after they left Nauvoo and established temporary camps within the Iowa Territory. The register does not list an origin for 581 individuals. Temple Records Index Bureau, "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register: December 10, 1845 to February 8, 1846," compiled by Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah 1974.

³⁸⁸ Demographical information taken from Appendix A. 46 individuals in Table 1 have unknown origins.

³⁸⁹ Jefferson Bailey, Daniel Brown (son), Isaac Carpenter, Albert Clark (son), James Hendrickson, William Hunter (son), George Kelley, Richard Smith, Luther Smith, Elisha Smith, Miles J. Thompson, Merrill Wheeler, Henry Wheeler (son), Matthew Wilcox, and Edward Wilcox.

TABLE 2: Nauvoo Temple Records Demographics

U.S. BORN	
LOCATION	QUANTITY
ALABAMA	1
CONNECTICUT	74
DELAWARE	5
GEORGIA	6
ILLINOIS	20
INDIANA	13
KENTUCKY	56
LOUISIANA	1
MAINE	46
MARYLAND	8
MASSACHUSETTS	164
MICHIGAN	2
MISSISSIPPI	1
MISSOURI	6
NEW HAMPSHIRE	78
NEW JERSEY	37
NEW YORK	459
NORTH CAROLINA	52
OHIO	110
PENNSYLVANIA	148
RHODE ISLAND	9
SOUTH CAROLINA	18
TENNESSEE	71
VERMONT	130
VIRGINIA	44
WISCONSIN	1
WASHINGTON D.C.	1
TOTAL	1561 (78%)
FOREIGN BORN	
LOCATION	QUANTITY
CANADA	86
IRELAND	25
SCOTLAND	38
ENGLAND	257
GERMANY	9
FRANCE	2
NORWAY	11
SWEDEN	1
DENMARK	2
TOTAL	431 (22%)

TABLE 3: Mormon Battalion Demographics

U.S. BORN	
LOCATION	QUANTITY
ALABAMA	3
CONNECTICUT	14
DELAWARE	0
GEORGIA	0
ILLINOIS	13
INDIANA	19
KENTUCKY	16
LOUISIANA	0
MAINE	6
MARYLAND	1
MASSACHUSETTS	13
MICHIGAN	3
MISSISSIPPI	1
MISSOURI	0
NEW HAMPSHIRE	13
NEW JERSEY	5
NEW YORK	109
NORTH CAROLINA	13
OHIO	52
PENNSYLVANIA	28
RHODE ISLAND	2
SOUTH CAROLINA	1
TENNESSEE	25
VERMONT	20
VIRGINIA	17
WISCONSIN	
WASHINGTON D.C.	
UNKNOWN/BELIEVED U.S.	15
TOTAL	389 (83%)
FOREIGN BORN	
LOCATION	QUANTITY
CANADA	25
IRELAND	4
SCOTLAND	6
ENGLAND	40
GERMANY	4
FRANCE	
NORWAY	1
SWEDEN	1
DENMARK	
TOTAL	81 (17%)

APPENDIX C

MORMON SOLDIERS LISTED IN THE NAUVOO

TEMPLE ENDOWMENT REGISTER (TER)³⁹⁰

This appendix includes three lists. These lists validate the use of the Nauvoo TER to provide demographical information on the Mormon population available in the Iowa Territory when the Mormon soldiers enlisted. The first provides, by name, the soldiers not found in the register; they probably arrived in the two-month interim from when the register ends and Captain (later Lieutenant Colonel) Allen began recruiting the battalion.³⁹¹ The second lists the names of those soldiers listed in the Nauvoo TER. The third lists the names of known sons and brothers, along with those individuals suspect to be family members based on dates of birth and similar family origins.

³⁹⁰ Temple Records Index Bureau, "Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register."

³⁹¹ Some individuals, like George Washington Taggart, arrived shortly after Captain (later Lieutenant Colonel) Allen began touring the Mormon camps in the Iowa Territory. Private James Allen joined the battalion, and was subsequently baptized into the Mormon faith, while the battalion marched to Fort Leavenworth.

Names Not Listed in Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register (119 or 23%)

Allen James	Camp, James Gre	Ewell, William Fle	Hudson, Wilford H	Noler, Christian	Steers, Andrew J.
Badlam Samuel	Campbell, Jonath	Fellows, Hiram W.	Jackson, Charles A	Nowlin, Jabez/Jabus T	Stephens, Alexander
Barrus/Barris, Ru	Catlin, George W	Finlay, Thomas B.	Jameson, Charles	Parke, George	Swarthout, Hamilton
Beckstead, Gordo	Cazier, James	Forbush, Lorin E.	Jois/Joyce, Thomas	Pickup, George	Swarthout, Nathan
Beckstead, Orin M	Cazier, John	Fornay/Farny, Fred	Judd, Hiram	Prouse/Prows, William	Terrell, Joel J.
Beckstead, William	Chapin, Samuel	Forsgren, John Eric	Karren, Thomas	Richards, Peter F./T.	Tindell, Solomon
Beers, William	Chase, John Darw	Frost, Lafayette N.	Kelley, Nicholas	Richmond, William	Tippetts, John Harvey
Bevan, James	Cheney, Zacheus	Gilbert, Thomas	Kenney, Loren Ed	Ritter, John	Truman, Jacob M.
Biddome, William	Compton, Allen	Goodwin, Andrew	Kirk, Thomas	Roberts, Levi	Tuttle, Elanson
Blackburn, Abner	Covil, John Q. A.	Gordon, Gilman	Larson, Thurston	Runyon, Levi	Twitchell, Anciel
Brackenberry, Ber	Cummings, Georg	Gould, Samuel J.	Laughlin, David S	Sessions, Richard	Ure, Martin
Brass, Benjamin	Day, Abraham	Hampton, James	Lemmon, James W	Sexton, George B.	Vrandenburg, Adna
Brizee/Brizzee, H	Decker, Zacharia	Hart, James S.	Maggard, Benjamin	Shelton, Sebert C.	Wade, Edward D.
Bronson/Brownso	Dennet, Daniel Q	Hawk, Nathan	Maxwell, Maxie	Shupe, Andrew Jackso	Wade, Moses
Bryant/Bryan, Joh	Dobson/Dodson, .	Hickmott, John	Maxwell, William	Skeen/Skene, Joseph	Watts, John S.
Buckley/Bulkley, Donald	Neal	Hinckley, Arza Era	Mayfield, Benjamin	Slater, Richard	White, Joseph
Burt, William	Douglas, James	Hirons, James P.	McCord, Alexande	Sly, James Calvin	Whitworth, Robert W.
Bush, William	Douglas, Ralph B	Holdaway, Shadrac	McCullough, Levi	Spencer, William W.	Wilkin, David
Button, Montgom	Dyke, Simeon	Holt, William	Mount, Hiram B.	Spidle, John	Wright, Charles
Calvert, John Han	Elmer, Elijah	Hoskins, Henry	Naegle, John Conr	Squires, William	

Names Listed in Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register (237 or 46%)

Adams, Orson B.	Carter, Richard	Frederick, David Jr	Jacobs, Sanford	Pettegrew, David	Thomas, Elijah
Alexander, Horace	Casper/Caspar, W	Freeman, Elijah N.	Johnston/Johnson,	Pettegrew, James P.	Thomas, Hayward
Allen, Albern	Casto, William W	Garner, David	Jones, David H.	Phelps, Alva	Thomas, Nathan T.
Allen, Elijah	Chase, Abner	Garner, Phillip	Jones, Nathaniel V	Pixton, Robert	Thompson, James L.
Allen, Ezra H.	Chase, Hyrum Ba	Garner, William A.	Judd, Zadock Knap	Porter, Sanford Jr.	Thompson, Samuel
Allen, George	Church, Haden W	Glines, James H.	Kelley, Milton	Pugmire, Jonathan, Jr.	Treat, Thomas W.
Allen, Rufus C.	Clark, Albert	Gould, John Calvir	Kelley, William	Rainey, David P.	Tubbs, William R.
Allred, James Rile	Clark, George Sh	Green, Ephraim	Keysor, Guy Mess	Raymond, Alonzo Pea	Tuttle, Luther
Allred, James Till	Clark, Joseph	Gribble, William	Kibbey, James	Reed, Calvin	Tyler, Daniel
Allred, Reddick N	Clark, Lorenzo	Gully, Samuel L.	King, John Morris	Richards, Joseph W	Walker, William Holmes
Allred, Reuben W	Clark, Samuel G.	Hancock, Charles I	Landers, Ebenezer	Richardson, Thomas	Weir, Thomas
Averett, Elisha	Clawson, John R	Hancock, George A	Lane, Lewis	Richie, Benjamin W.	West, Benjamin
Babcock, Lorenzo	Clift, Robert	Hancock, Levi W.	Lawson, John	Riser, John Jacob	Wheeler, Henry
Bailey, James	Coleman, George	Hanks, Ebenezer	Layton, Christophe	Robinson, William	Wheeler, John L.
Barger, William V	Collins, Robert H	Harmon, Oliver N.	Luddington, Elam	Rogers, Samuel Hollis	Wheeler, Merrill W.
Barney, Walter	Colton, Philander	Harris, Robert	Lytle, Andrew	Rosecrans, George W.	White, John Stout
Bates, Joseph Wil	Condit, Jephtha	Harrison, Isaac/Isr	Martin, Edward	Roylance, John	White, Samuel Stephen
Bigler, Henry Wil	Coons, William A	Hawk, William	Martin, Jesse Bigle	Rust, William Walker	Whitney, Francis T.
Bingham, Erastus	Coray/Corey, Wil	Hawkins, Benjamin	McArthur, Henry	Sargent, Abel Morgan	Wilcox, Edward
Bingham, Thomas	Cox, Amos	Haws, Alpheus Pet	McCarty, Nelson	Scott, James A.	Wilcox, Henry
Binley/Bentley, Jr	Cox, John	Hendrickson, Abra	Merrill, Philemon	Sharp, Norman	Willey, Jeremiah
Bliss, Robert Stan	Curtis, Foster	Hess, John W.	Mesick, Peter L.	Shumway, Aurora	Williams, James Van Nos
Borrowman, John	Dalton, Henry Sin	Hickenlooper, Will	Miles, Samuel Jr.	Simmons, William Al	Williams, Thomas S.
Boyd, George Wa	Davis, Daniel Cox	Hickenlooper, Will	Morris, Thomas	Smith, Albert	Willis, William Wesley
Boyle/Bybee, Hen	Davis, James	Higgins, Nelson	Moss, David	Smith, David	Willis/Willes, Ira Jones
Brazier, Richard	Davis, Sterling	Hoffheims/Hofheir	Mowrey, Harley	Smith, Elisha	Wilson, George Deliverat
Browett, Daniel	Dodge, Augustus	Holmes, Jonathan I	Mowrey, John Tho	Smith, Willard G.	Wood, William
Brown, Daniel	Dunham, Albert	Hopkins, Charles A	Muir, William S.	Smith/Snyder, John G	Woolsey, Thomas
Brown, Ebenezar	Dunn, James	Howell/s, Thomas	Murdock, John R	Sprague, Richard D.	Workman, Andrew Jacks
Brown, Francis	Dunn, Thomas J.	Hoyt, Henry Pike	Myler, James Jr.	St. John, Stephen M.	Workman, Oliver Gaultry
Brown, James	Dykes, George P.	Hoyt, Timothy Sab	Olmstead/Olmsted.	Standage, Henry	Wright, Phinehas R.
Brown, John	Earl, James Calvir	Hulet/Hulett, Sylve	Oman, George W.	Steele, John	Wriston, John P.
Brown, William V	Evans, William	Hulse, Lewis	Owens, Robert	Stephens/Stevens, Arn	
Brownell, Russell	Ewell, John Marti	Hunsaker, Abraham	Oyler, Melcher/Me	Stephens/Stevens, Ros	
Bunker, Edward	Fairbanks, Henry	Hunt, Gilbert	Pace, James	Stevens, Lyman	
Burns, Thomas R.	Fatoute, Ezra	Hunt, Jefferson	Packard, Henry	Stewart, Robert Boyd	
Bush, Richard	Fife, Peter Muir	Hunter, Edward Jr.	Park, James P. 1st	Stillman, Dexter	
Butterfield, Jacob	Fifield, Levi Josep	Hunter, Jesse D.	Park, James P. 2nd	Strong, William	
Calkins, Sylvanus	Folett/Follett, Will	Huntington, Dimic	Peck, Edwin Marti	Taggart, George Wash	
Callahan, Thomas	Follett, William A	Hyde, William	Peck, Thorit	Tanner, Myron	
Canfield, Cyrus C	Frazier, Thomas I	Ivie, Thomas C.	Perrin, Charles	Taylor, Joseph	

Family Members Listed in Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register (156 or 31%)

Abbott, Joshua	Carter, Isaac Phil	Gilbert, John R.	Johnson, Jarvis	Pierson, Harmon D.	Steele, Isaiah C.
Adair, George We	Casto, James B./C	Gilbert, R.	Johnston/Johnstun	Pierson, Judson A.	Stewart, Benjamin F.
Allen, Franklin	Clark, Riley Gam	Glazier, Luther Wi	Kelley, George	Pulsipher, David	Stewart, James William
Averett, Jeduthan	Clift, James	Green, John	Knapp, Albert	Rawson, Daniel Berry	Stillman, Clark
Bailey, Addison	Cole, James Barn	Hanks, Ephraim Ki	Lake, Barnabas	Reynolds, William Fle	Stoddard, Rufus
Bailey, Jefferson	Cox, Henderson	Harmon, Ebenezer	Lamb, Lisbon	Richardson, J.	Study, David
Bickmore, Gilbert	Curtis, Dorr Purd	Harmon, Lorenzo I	Lance, William	Richmond, Benjamin I	Tanner, Albert Miles Star
Bird, William	Curtis, Josiah	Harris, Silas	Lewis, Samuel	Roberts, Benjamin Mc	Thompson, John Crow
Blanchard, Mervin	Dalton, Edward	Haskell, George W	McBride, Harlum	Rowe, Cariatat Conder	Thompson, Miles J.
Boley, Samuel	Dalton, Harry/Her	Hatch, Melair	McLellan/McLella	Rowe, William	Walker, Edwin
Boyd, William W.	Davis, Eleazer	Hatch, Orin	Mead, Orlando Fis	Sanders, Richard Twig	Weaver, Franklin
Brimhall, John	Davis, Walter L.	Hendricks, William	Meacham/Meacham	Sanderson, Henry We	Weaver, Milcs
Brown, Alexander	Dayton, William/	Hendrickson, Jame	Merrill, Ferdinand	Savage, Levi	Webb, Charles Young
Brown, Edmund I	Dobson/Dodson E	Henrie, Daniel	Miller, Daniel Mor	Scott, Leonard M.	Welsh/Welsch, Madison
Brown, James Pol	Durphy/Durfee, F	Hewett, Eli Buckn	Miller, Miles	Sessions, John	Whiting, Almon
Brown, James Ste	Dutcher, Thomas	Higgins, Alfred	Moore, Calvin Wh	Sessions, William B.	Whiting, Edmond
Brown, Jesse Sow	Earl, Jacob Syphe	Hoaglund/Hoaglan	Murdock, Horice/C	Sharp, Albert	Wilcox, Matthew
Buchanan, John	Earl, Jesse/Justice	Holden, Elijah Edv	Myers, Samuel	Shepherd, Marcus de I	Willis, William Sydney S
Bybee, John McC	Eastman, Marcus	Hulet/Hulett, Schu	Oakley, James DeC	Shipley, Joseph	Wilson, Alfred C./G.
Caldwell, Matthev	Egbert, Robert Co	Hunt, Marshall	Owen, James Cole	Shupe, James Wright	Winn, Dennis Willson
Calkins, Alva Ch	Evans, Israel	Hunter, William	Park, William Asb	Smith, Azariah	Winters, Jacob
Calkins, Edwin R	Ferguson, James	Huntsman, Isaiah	Peck, Isaac	Smith, Lot	Woodward, Francis Snow
Calkins, James W	Fife, John	Ivie, Richard A.	Perkins, David M.	Smith, Luther	Woodworth, Lysander
Campbell, Samuel	Fletcher, Philand	Jackson, Henry We	Perkins, John	Smith, Milton	Wriston, Isaac N.
Carpenter, Isaac	Gibson, Thomas	Jacobs, Bailey	Pierson, Ebenczer I	Smith, Richard D.	Young, Nathan
Carpenter, Willia	Gifford, William	Johnson, Henry Mi	Pierson, Ephraim	Steele, George E.	Zabriskie, Jerome

APPENDIX D

NATIONAL ORIGIN DEMOGRAPHICS OF KNOWN

SAN PATRICIO SOLDIERS

Table 4 provides demographical information on the origin of known San Patricio soldiers;³⁹² the national origin for 23 San Patricio soldiers is unknown.

TABLE 4: San Patricio Battalion Demographics	
U.S. BORN	
LOCATION	QUANTITY
ARKANSAS	1
DELAWARE	1
LOUISIANA	1
MAINE	2
NEW YORK	8
OHIO	1
PENNSYLVANIA	6
VIRGINIA	2
TOTAL	22 (21%)
FOREIGN BORN	
LOCATION	QUANTITY
CANADA	2
IRELAND	40 (39%)
SCOTLAND	7
ENGLAND	7
GERMANY	14
FRANCE	1
MEXICO	7
ITALY	1
SPAIN	1
POLAND	1
TOTAL	81 (79%)

³⁹² Miller, *Shamrock and Sword*, 188-192.

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